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ABSTRACT

Unit two to the second-semester "Comparing Political Experiences" course focuses on a specific controversial political issue: court-ordered busing in Boston. A documentary approach represents the core of instruction in this 12th-grade unit. This approach avoids lengthy narratives of a theoretical approach and yet is more in-depth than the case-study approach of the first-semester units. The documentary approach emphasizes gathering interview data from actual participants involved in the issue. The first activity unit introduces students to the concept of political conflict by examining the opinions of the various actors in the issue. Activity two focuses on how the two political factors on inequality and competition affect the conflict situation in Boston. Activity three demonstrates how the concept of mobilization and interdependence have affected the busing conflict. Finally, activity four is designed to teach students conflict-management skills and how to forecast future trends in a conflict situation. Each activity contains the necessary student materials and student discussion questions. A data packet of supplementary readings and exercises is also included. (Author/DE)

EXPERIMENTAL
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COMPARING POLITICAL EXPERIENCES

POLITICAL ISSUES

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BUSING IN BOSTON

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These experimental curriculum materials are part of a two-semester high school course, Comparing Political Experiences. The materials constitute one unit of one semester, Political Issues. The course is being developed by the High School Political Science Curriculum Project, which is one of the projects sponsored by the American Political Science Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. The project is supported by funds provided by the National Science Foundation. These materials cannot be duplicated, reproduced or used in any manner without the specific written approval of the High School Political Science Curriculum Project.

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All of these people have demonstrably influenced the way this unit has been developed. However, the responsibility for the ideas and approaches taken in the materials should not be attributed to the APSA Pre-Collegiate Committee, the National Science Foundation, the consultants or the pilot teachers. Although their contributions continue to be invaluable, responsibility for the ideas presented here rests with the authors.

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Stuart Lazarus

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ACTIVITY ONE: ALL THOSE ARRESTED

Court-ordered busing began in Boston in September, 1974. No one liked it. The Court took a position in favor of busing in order to support the right of every student in Boston to have an equal opportunity to get an education. Black students began to be bused to primarily white schools to achieve a better racial balance. Fights broke out between students. Teachers were frustrated because learning stopped in most schools. Community groups protested the busing. The Boston School Committee, a policy-making body for the city schools, first refused to implement the court order and then proceeded to fight against busing throughout the fall. The situation in Boston was, and still is, very tense.

This unit is about this busing conflict. Throughout the unit, you will learn about how people acted and reacted to the issue of busing. You will also learn about other conflicts in schools, communities, nations, and international organizations. You will acquire skills which will help you to analyze conflicts and to act yourself in conflict situations. Therefore, this unit should help you to act more effectively in conflict situations that arise in your own everyday life.

Activity One: All Those Arrested is an introduction to the busing conflict in Boston. The activity consists of three scenes: Judge Garrity's court, where the order for busing was first given; a Boston School Committee meeting; and a bus ride in which two students reflect on a day in a Boston high school. Each scene shows how conflict took place in different arenas in Boston.

Read each scene and answer the discussion questions

Scene I -- JUDGE GARRITY'S COURT

This scene is set in Judge Garrity's courtroom. The judge is announcing the order for busing of students in Boston city schools. The scene is interrupted at several points by student comments which show their reactions to the court order.

CLERK: The United States District Court, State of Massachusetts, Honorable Judge W. Arthur Garrity presiding, is called to order. All rise.

Gavel Pounding.

JUDGE GARRITY: This is a school desegregation case brought by black students and their parents who attend the Boston Public Schools.

WHITE MALE STUDENT I: Of course, that Judge Garrity is white and he lives in Dover and all his kids go to private schools. So he doesn't care. All of them, all of their kids are in private schools. All Congress' kids and Senators' kids. Like Kennedy's kids, they're all in the Kennedy School and they don't care. I don't know who could stop forced busing. They'd probably have to go through Congress and the President, and he's going to start another war.

Like the people in Russia probably have a better education than us. Like they probably think that we have a real good education. But, it's just like us. They get told what school to go to and so do we. I don't know what this country's turning into, but to actually be told what school you can go to and what school you can't go to. And like it's only Boston, and like the other cities, but the kids out in the suburbs never get bused.

Gavel Pounding.

JUDGE GARRITY: Plaintiffs argue that educational practices in the Boston Public Schools deny black children their constitutional right to equality of educational opportunity under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

BLACK MALE STUDENT I: I want everyone to go to school peacefully and just get an education. And they are not giving anybody a chance to get an education. They have been fighting so much, I mean they must not have had even a month of school, I mean really learning. There's policemen on each corner, where last year you were sort of free. I mean you had to have a pass to be in the corridors and things, but there were so many other activities and everything and the whole surrounding was so much nicer. There wasn't any tension or anything. You know, everybody got along with everybody, the football team, the basketball team, everything, you know everything was good. This year there's none of that. We have none of that. We have nothing.

WHITE FEMALE STUDENT STUDENT I: Like they say that blacks don't have quality education, but that's not the problem at all. And they say that all the trouble is racial trouble and it's not. Because they come to the school, and it's not their school and they don't want to be here. So they wreck it. And it's our school. Like we didn't have a Midwinter Dance this year because of it. We don't have anything anymore. It's not fair that they should have to come here if they don't want to.

Gavel Pounding.

JUDGE GARRITY: It is ordered and adjudged that the defendants who are members of the Boston School Committee and William J. Leary, Superintendent of Schools of the city of Boston, be permanently enjoined from discrimination upon the basis of race, and from creating, promoting, or maintaining racial segregation in any school or other facilities in the Boston school system. Said defendants are further ordered to eliminate every form of racial segregation in the public schools of Boston including all consequences and vestiges of segregation previously practiced by the defendents.

WHITE MALE STUDENT II: People just don't like the situation. Everyone feels that they are either niggers or whities, and there's just a tension. You don't think of the individual personalities, you just start generalizing about color. Whites hate blacks. Blacks hate whites. It's just the way it is here.

WHITE FEMALE STUDENT II: If anything, integration is supposed to make us more friendly with the blacks and I never was prejudiced in my whole life until this year. This has made me more prejudiced. I think you should be able to go to a school that you want to, and if you are forced into integration, I think it's bad. I'd like to have friends that are black, and friends that are white, and I don't want to be forced into a situation where I am more or less told what friends I should have.

BLACK FEMALE STUDENT: Well, see, like I've read in books, they've always said that whites feel that they're superior to blacks. And that's not true, you know, 'cause blacks are just as superior as whites. And you know I feel if they gotta live in the same world that they should be treated equal. I think they should just let people go to the schools they wanna go to.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

Write answers to the questions in the spaces on this page.

1. What is Judge Garrity saying in this scene?

2. What is Judge Garrity's goal?

3. What reactions do the students have to the Judge's statements?

4. What seem to be the major contradictions (points of difference) between the Judge and the students?

Scene II -- SCHOOL COMMITTEE MEETING

This scene focuses on a meeting of the Boston School Committee. The meeting is being held to hear parents' testimony on what is happening in the Boston schools. Committee meetings are held in a very small, often very crowded room in the School Committee Building on Beacon Street. It's hard to hear or to be heard during the meeting.

MR. MCDONOUGH, CHAIRMAN: This meeting is called to order. We have a heavy schedule today. We must proceed as rapidly as possible. However, I would like to say that the School Committee welcomes the parents and other community members who are in attendance at this meeting. It is important for the School Committee to be responsive to the citizens of the Boston community, especially during this period of crisis in its schools. The Committee is an elected body whose purpose is to make policy for the Boston city schools. And that means we need to carry out the desires of the public.

Now, let's move to the first parent who came to testify today. I would like to have your name, address, and your particular role in the schools.

WHITE FEMALE PARENT: I'm Shelly Norwich. I'm a member of the Home and School Association of Roslindale. I live at 10 South Wathan Street in Roslindale. I am here for parents of Roslindale who would like to find out about conditions in the schools. Mainly, they're concerned about some of the conditions that have been imposed on our children because of Phase I integration. For example, the lack of quality education, the lack of discipline in our school, the over-crowding, physical conditions of the school, and the attitudes of some of the teachers in our school. We are concerned at the way Roslindale has been divided. We have children going to three different high schools, namely Roslindale High School, English High School, and Hyde Park High.

MR. MCDONOUGH: Fine. Good enough.

MRS. NORWICH: One problem that came once again, a letter that was sent home. I think it was written by a teacher. All the words, not all the words, but a good many of them, are misspelled. So, I don't know how they're teaching our children, you know, spelling or anything else, if they don't know how to do it themselves. It seems to be getting to the point where you wonder. Is the child wrong or is the teacher wrong? You don't know what to say. I mean, it's bad enough to be put on a bus, but if this is what's coming at the end of the bus ride.

Also, there are not enough lockers in the schools. There are twelve hundred children and nine hundred lockers. I'm sure all the people here have a place to hang their coats when they get to work, but these children have to walk around with them, whether it's good weather or bad weather. And I don't think it's necessary.

MR. MCDONOUGH: Do I have a response on the lockers? Mr. Galliota?

MR. GALLIOTA: Yes sir, Mr. Chairman. I did react to a letter which was sent to the Superintendent about a week ago and have taken necessary action. We have had men to the school. We have a space in which we can locate them. I think you are well aware, sir, that anything over $2,000 must be publicly advertised according to law. We expect to publicly advertize and solicit bids next week.

MR. MCDONOUGH: Mr. Galliota, how long will it be before we get the lockers in the school?

MR. GALLIOTA: I would like to be optimistic, but as you are aware, Mr. Chairman, there is a shortage of steel. I don't know just exactly when. Well, we did expect to move some lockers up there, madame. I do have available some eighty-two used lockers, which I could send out there within a week. However, I would rather send new lockers out there, that would be compatible with the lockers that we did put in there before. And that's what I'm waiting for.

MR. MCDONOUGH: Do you believe these lockers are coming?

MRS. NORWICH: I went to the school to see what was happening. The person who met me was very rude. He said to me, "I don't know what you're bumming about the school for. Your children won't be here, anyway, next year." I was very put out because I did feel as a taxpayer, as a parent, and as a member of the Home and School Association, I had a right to go into the school. I said, "My children won't be here next year. They weren't here last year. But as long as I take on the responsibility of the Home and School Committee, I will fight for EVERY child that's in this!" And he just, he tried to have me arrested. But the detectives refused to arrest me, when we were at the door.

MR. MCDONOUGH: You know who the person was?

MRS. NORWICH: I'm not sure but he was very indignant about the whole thing. "I don't know why you're hanging around the school, your children won't be here anyway!" Those kids are wearing their coats, all day, because they don't have lockers.

MR. ELLISON, COMMITTEE MEMBER: This is important. Parents are getting a closer look at the performance of the school department in terms of education. They really want to know what's going on. This is something we have to respond to. We want people to come forward and tell us what's wrong. This is the test of a school committee. It hasn't been going too well this year. But one thing we're going to do, we're going to make sure that our personnel perform, perform at all levels. And I think that's what these parents want and deserve and they've given us their support.

MR. MCDONOUGH: We'll do our best, Mrs. Norwich.

Now, will you please give me your name, address, and position in relation to the schools?

WHITE FEMALE PARENT: I'm Sharon O'Connor. I'm a member of the Hyde Park Home and School Association. I live at 55 Carbondale Street. I represent parents in Hyde Park who want the busing stopped NOW. You might as well stop it now, because there probably won't be any white kids still around. I think there's not too many blacks who depend on busing. I think the big problem is that the blacks won't want to come back.

MR. MCDONOUGH: Do you have any idea why that would be?

MRS. O'CONNOR: I have no idea; all I know is that those kids get pretty fed up. I mean being harassed.

MR. MCDONOUGH: Mr. Kerrigan.

MR. KERRIGAN: This is all related to what I call "white flight." We haven't estimated, but my guess is that somewhere between 7 and 10,000 white students have left the system, inside of a year. The added costs are significant. In my opinion, you know, the schools are being ruined. It's just a period of time before we have a predominantly black school system with black kids and poor kids going to school in Boston. And this is something that I've been saying for years. I've been on the School Committee for eight years and it's like predicting doom and watching it happen.

What have you got now? You've got what I said you've got. You got black and poor. And poor people need somebody to look down on. Those are the groups that they're mixing. And I feel that if we're gonna have honest integration, it shouldn't just be integrating blacks with poor people.

MR. MCDONOUGH: Thank you, Mr. Kerrigan. Who's next?

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

Write answers to the questions in the spaces on this page.

1. What problems do Mrs. Norwich and Mrs. O'Connor find in the busing situation in Boston?

2. What problems do Mr. Galliota and Mr. Kerrigan see?

3. Is "equality" an outcome of busing according to this scene? What is unequal about the busing situation?

4. What are the major contradictions between Judge Garrity, the parents and the School Committee over the busing question?

5. Is there a conflict in either the court scene or the school committee scene? If so, what seems to be the focus of the conflict?

6. State a definition of political conflict as you understand it from hearing the audio tape.

Scene III -- TWO STUDENTS ON A BUS

This scene focuses on a conversation between two students going home on a bus from Hyde Park High School. The buses were stoned the previous day and the students reflect on the conflict and their feelings about school in general.

Sounds of the bus loading students begin the scene. Then the students converse over the normal sounds of the bus moving over Boston streets, stopping, starting and letting students off at prescribed points.

BILL: Well, we made it. I wasn't sure we would after yesterday.

JIM: Yeh, I thought they would stone the buses again today.

BILL: Do you know what Sue told me?

JIM: No, what?

BILL: She said she saw two cops ...

SUE (Voiceover): Two cops came into the crowd and were hitting kids with clubs and chasing kids through the yards and throwing kids in paddy wagons. I had a dress on, you know, the first time this year I had a dress on and, oh God. The buses came and all the blacks, they were throwing rocks out of the bus, and they were throwing pepsi cans out of the bus windows. And this kid pointed a stick at me out of a bus window, and he hit me, right, and I took it over to the cop. I said, "I just got hit with this stick." And he said, "I saw you stoning buses." I said, "But I wasn't stoning the buses!" He says, "You were too and if you don't shut up, I'll take you with me." Everybody was fighting and it was this one big mass and it was a riot. One big mass of riot. Unbelieveable. And the blacks were screaming and I was thinking, Oh God, I'm going to have to go back to that school.

JIM: She musta been scared. Did she come back today?

BILL: Sure. She's a senior and she wants to graduate.

JIM: The seniors really are having it rough. Their whole senior year is wrecked.

BILL: Yeh. I was talking with McIntyre the other day and he said something that really sums it up. He said that this year ...

WHITE MALE STUDENT I, McINTYRE (Voiceover): This year we have less freedom. Walking down the corridors and seeing policemen does not give the atmosphere of a school. It gives the attitude that everybody's watching, and at any second something is going to break out. It's not a friendly attitude like it used to be. I used to look forward to going to classes. Instead of looking for a football game after school, now you look for a fight.

The whole role of school has pretty much been deteriorated. We used to look forward to the school proms, and now we don't know if there will be any prom this year. I don't like it this way. Your senior year is supposed to be a really fantastic year, and it's really a drag. I can't wait to get out.

Your senior year you really don't have that much burden on you, especially after you've been accepted into college. You should just be able to plan what you're going to do next year. Now it's just coming here all day, and trying to make it through without anything happening to you.

JIM: McIntyre's right. But, you know, someting's getting done. Do you know what happened in English class today?

BILL: No ... what?

JIM: Well, Miss Stephens was talking to us about our essays, you know, what was wrong with them and all. We were listening ... she's a pretty good teacher. She tries hard. Well, it was getting to the end of the period and imagine this, Miss Stephens was saying ...

WHITE FEMALE TEACHER, MISS STEPHENS (Voiceover): Now, you can see that there were three major problems with the essays. All in all, they were pretty good, but you should try to rewrite them thinking about the things we have talked about today. The assignment ...

WHITE MALE PRINCIPAL ON INTERCOM (Voiceover): Would all those students ...

MISS STEPHENS: for tomorrow is ...

PRINCIPAL: who were arrested ...

MISS STEPHENS: We'd better listen to this announcement -- quiet!

PRINCIPAL: Would all those students who were arrested yesterday report to the office.

BILL: What!

JIM: Yeh ... "Would all those students <u>who</u> <u>were</u> <u>arrested</u> yesterday <u>report</u> <u>to</u> <u>the</u> <u>office</u>!"

BILL: You're kidding!

JIM: No ... you know no one is ever jailed when they're brought in.

Bill and Jim begin to get off bus.

BILL: Yeh, all those arrested.

JIM: See you tomorrow.

BILL: Same time, same place ... all those arrested.

DISCUSSIONS QUESTIONS

Write answers to the questions in the spaces on this page.

1. What events are happening at Hyde Park High?

2. What are some contradictions between what is happening at Hyde Park and what usually goes on in most schools?

3. This scene demonstrates another example of conflict. What is the conflict about?

4. Think about the definition of conflict you stated previously. Does the definition still make sense for this scene on the bus? If not, how would you change the definition?

5. Do you think some people are right and others are wrong about busing? Who would you say is right? What seems to make them right and others wrong?

ACTIVITY TWO: US AND THEM

Part A: Introduction

In "All Those Arrested" you saw that the busing issue in Boston is an example of a political conflict. A political conflict occurs when there are differences in patterns of resources and activities over time. You have seen that blacks in Boston have not had equal educational opportunity in the past. The distribution of educational resources was heavily loaded in favor of white students. Judge Garrity has attempted to make the distribution of resources more equal through busing. The equalization of resources through busing contradicts a long history of inequality in Boston. It is this contradiction that is at the heart of the conflict.

Not only are resources different, but people in Boston are acting in different ways than they have before. There is more political participation. Pro and anti-busing groups have formed. More parents are attending School Committee meetings. More students are taking active part in doing something about how their schools are run. Before, the School Committee made decisions about governing the Boston schools. Now everyone has a say. The change from a School Committee-dominated school system to one in which many groups compete for a voice in making policy is a contradiction in patterns of political activities that is also at the heart of the conflict.

> Political conflict occurs when differences in patterns of resources and activities contradict each other over time and a political system operates in a different way.

Boston is not the same city today that it was when the Racial Imbalance Act was passed in 1964. Resources are being distributed differently and political activities like policy-making are different. Old ways are being contradicted by the busing situation.

One important question that can be raised is: Why is there political conflict in Boston? The remainder of this activity is designed to give you some answers to this question. First, you will study the history of the busing issue in Boston. Then you will see how other cases of political conflict compare to the Boston situation. Finally, you will work with some data about conflict and see how there are some general reasons why conflicts usually happen. Hopefully, you'll begin to see some answers to the question of why conflicts occur.

BUSING IN BOSTON: THE HISTORY OF A CONFLICT

A PHOTOCHRONOLOGY

The next few pages trace the history of busing in Boston. In many ways, the history began when the first Irish immigrants came to the city. In thinking about why the busing conflict is happening, it is important to consider the heritage of the Irish and other ethnic groups that have lived in the city for many years. It is also important to know how courts and legislatures have dealt with the interrelated questions of equal educational opportunity, race discrimination, and busing. In this case, the judges and legislators have provided the spark for the busing controversy. Finally, these pages will outline what has happened in Boston since busing began in September, 1974. Knowing what happened from 1964 through the first few months of school will help you to sort out important actors and activities that have led to the conflict and to see how the conflict grew over time.

The history of busing in Boston could be told in words. However, much of its meaning would not be half so powerfully felt unless pictures were also used. Therefore, what follows is a photochronology. It contains almost as many pictures as paragraphs. As you read the history, also study the pictures. They will tell the story in important ways that can't be described in words.

UPI Photo

Buses leaving South Boston High

Busing in Boston: The History of a Conflict

"They've pushed us to the wall, they're treating us like animals. We won't take it if it comes to the gun."

The man talking in the above statement is a resident of Boston. He lives in a part of the city called South Boston, or "Southie". He is taking part in a demonstration to protest school busing. A lot of people and groups are engaged in an intense and bitter conflict about busing in Boston. Why?

UPI Photo

A Demonstration in South Boston

Boston: Home to Many Ethnic Groups

Boston is a city of ethnic neighborhoods. During the past 100 years, many immigrants came to Boston. Often they were met with hostility. Channels for advancement in the community were closed to them. Under the "Help Wanted" sign, another sign frequently appeared, "No Irish Need Apply." The immigrants, the largest group of whom were Irish, responded by creating their own community.

Since they could not find work in private business, many took government jobs with the police, the city government, the school system. Some went into politics. Others started their own businesses.

Gradually many of the Yankees who had settled originally in Boston moved to the suburbs. The immigrants rose to positions of power in Boston. The members of the School Committee and the mayor were Irish.

Culver

Irish Immigrants

South Boston: A Special Neighborhood

Some immigrants and their children and grandchildren became wealthy and powerful; one, John Kennedy, became President. Most of them stayed in communities that had developed over the years. South Boston, or Southie as it is commonly called, is an excellent example of this kind of neighborhood. In Southie, 3 or 4 generations of a family live within blocks of each other. They help one another in times of crisis. Residents call Southie "a friendly place."

The people of Southie are not rich or powerful, but they have felt secure. The men they voted for controlled the city, ran the schools, went to the state legislature and to Congress. Some of their relatives and friends were on the police force. Others taught their children in the neighborhood schools. This was the way life had been for their parents. This is the way life is for them, and this is the way they assumed it would be for their children.

A Street in South Boston

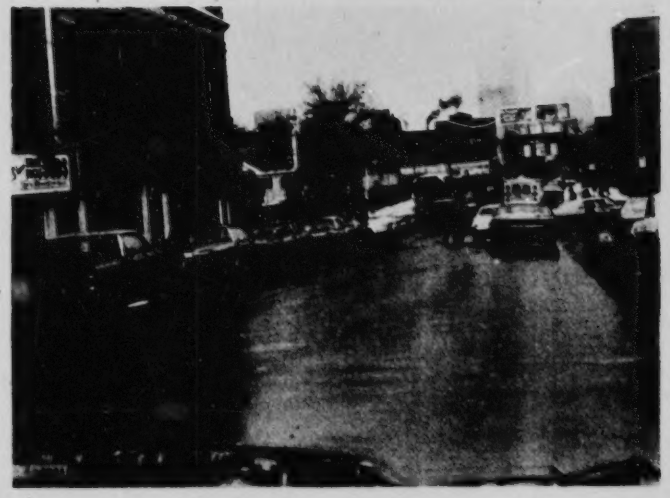
South Boston High School

Roxbury: A Black Community in Boston

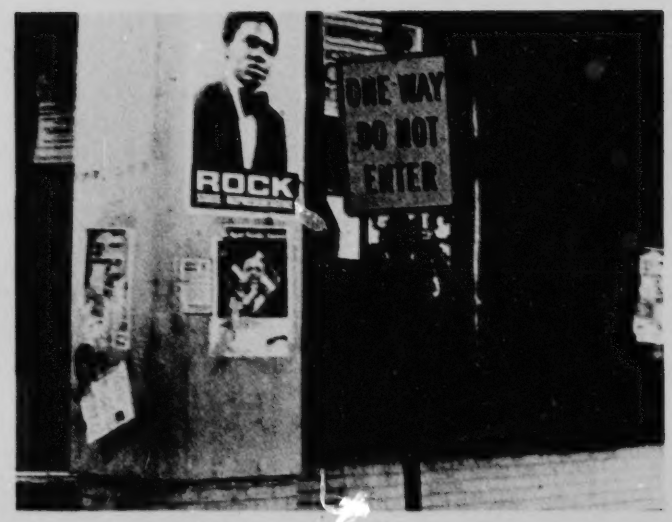
So far no mention has been made of an important group in Boston, the black community. Black Americans, unlike Irish Americans, did not come willingly to the United States. They came originally as slaves. After slavery ended, blacks continued to be treated as inferior members of the community. Even in Boston, which was the home of the movement to end slavery, blacks have been discriminated against.

Ninety percent of the blacks in Boston live in three adjoining neighborhoods. Roxbury is the most well known of these. Unlike the Irish of Southie, the blacks of Roxbury are not content to remain there. They feel they have been confined in a ghetto where they get the worst of everything: schools, jobs and housing.

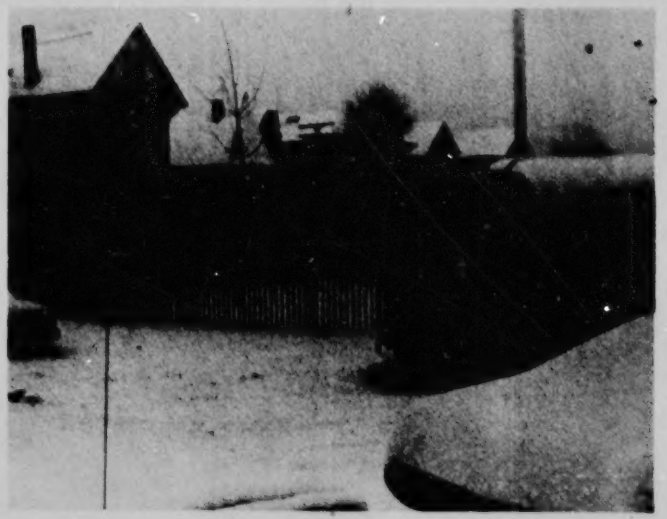
The people of Roxbury see education as a major way to improve life for their children. Better educated children will be able to get better jobs. Better jobs will mean higher salaries and more opportunity to move out of the ghetto. In Boston, good schools mean white schools. Many blacks see busing as the only way to mingle black and white children in the same schools. Only this mingling, they feel, will produce better education for black children.



A Street in Roxbury



Roxbury: Another View



A View of Hyde Park

A Closer Look at Hyde Park

Hyde Park: A More Varied Neighborhood

Hyde Park is less easy to describe than either South Boston or Roxbury. Hyde Park does not have one major ethnic group which dominates it. There are as many Protestants as there are Catholics. There are black residents too. In past years, Hyde Park High has been as much as 22 or 23% black. A senior at Hyde Park describes her neighborhood: "It's a together community, not like Southie, we are not as together as they are ..."

The people in Hyde Park work as small businessmen and as policemen and lower level civil servants. They may be somewhat wealthier than the residents of Southie. With Southie, they share an attachment to their community and to their neighborhood schools.

A Conflict over Resources

The people of Hyde Park and South Boston are relatively content with their present lifestyle. The people of Roxbury are not happy. The residents of South Boston and Hyde Park and other communities like them fear that once blacks are in their schools, they will be competing for their jobs, houses and neighborhoods. The blacks want their fair share of the city benefits. The whites fear the blacks will deprive them of their hard earned security.

There is a conflict over scarce resources. The white communities feel threatened. "Their backs are to the wall," as the demonstrator said. They have lost some of the resources they thought they controlled. The Catholic Church will not take white children fleeing busing into their schools. The police are escorting the buses and breaking up demonstrations. Their political leaders are still with them, but the courts which have the final say are not.

The whites of these neighborhoods have turned their anger on blacks and on white supporters of blacks. The residents of Southie claim Roxbury is unsafe. They say their children won't be secure in school there. They criticize whites who support busing from the safety of the suburban or private schools their children often attend. Judge Garrity, they will tell you, doesn't even live in Boston and Senator Kennedy's children don't go to school in Southie or Hyde Park. Resources are scarce and the people of Hyde Park and South Boston feel they are being asked to do all the sharing.

The blacks claim the arguments of the whites are phony. To them the major issue is white racism. Whites are safer in Roxbury, they say, than blacks are in Southie. Racism is undoubtedly a part of the problem. Scarcity of resources is a part also.

UPI Photo

Police Hold Back Crowd
in South Boston

Wide World Photo

Police Hold Youth in Roxbury

The Boston School Committee

The schools in Boston are run by a five member committee elected at large every two years. The at-large election means that everyone in the city votes for five of the candidates. The five candidates with the most votes are elected to the Committee. Since blacks are only a minority in Boston, they have been unable to elect a black member to the Committee. Members of the Committee are usually Irish. This is logical since most of the voters are Irish.

The School Committee has complete authority to hire the superintendent and other personnel, to make promotions and demotions, to give raises, to decide how and where to build schools and to develop the curriculum. The School Committee controls 97,000 students, 5,000 teachers, 202 schools, and a budget of approximately 95 million dollars. Until this year, the Committee also decided how to structure the school districts within the city of Boston. The School Committee is one of the major actors in the conflict over school busing in Boston.

Wide World Photo
A School Committee Meeting

AGENDA

No. 11 February 25, 1975

1. Accreditation of Boston Latin School
2. Hearing - Concerned Citizens of Roslindale (Mr. Ellison)
3. Contracts
   a. Boston State College - Courses for teacher aides
   b. Lesley College - Courses for teacher aides
4. Personnel matters - academic
5. Personnel matters - non-academic
6. Communications
7. Proposal for Consolidation of Research and Evaluation Activities into a Department of Research and Evaluation
8. Report of Special Education Committee (Miss Sullivan)

An Agenda for a School Committee Meeting

Discussion Questions

Answer these questions based on what you have read so far.

1. What are some major differences in the types of resources which people in South Boston, Hyde Park and Roxbury have had?

2. What resources has the School Committee traditionally had?

3. How do you think the resources of each of the communities and the Committee contribute to the busing conflict?

From the Racial Imbalance Act to the Garrity Ruling

Integration did not become an issue in Boston suddenly in the fall of 1974. The conflict had been building for eleven years.

1963 Blacks in Boston began to complain about the quality of the education their children were receiving. In June, three thousand students boycotted school in a one day protest.

The Mayor appointed a committee to study the complaints about the schools. The School Committee denied that black students were being treated unfairly. The Committee was then led by Louise Day Hicks. In November, the Committee was reelected overwhelmingly. That indicated that the majority of voters in Boston supported the School Committee and not the boycott.

1964 Another boycott occurred in February. This time 20,500 students stayed home. The State Education Commission appointed an Advisory Committee to make a report on the problem.

1965 The Advisory Committee issued its report. The report said the schools in Boston were racially imbalanced. Any school which was more than 50% non-white was defined as imbalanced.

In the spring and summer, pro-civil rights sentiment was strong in Massachusetts. A black minister from Boston had been killed in Alabama. This incident brought the battle for civil rights close to home for the people of Boston.

In response to this generally favorable view of the civil rights struggle and to the Advisory Committee report, the Massachusetts State Legislature passed the Racial Imbalance Act. Governor Volpe signed the act into law in August. The law made it illegal for any school in the state to be racially imbalanced or to have more than 50% non-white enrollment.

Wide World Photo
Boycott in South Boston

BOSTON CLERGYMAN DIES OF BEATING

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

Selma, Ala., March 1 - The Rev. James J. Reeb, the 38-year-old Boston minister who was beaten by whites here Tuesday night, died in the University of Alabama Hospital in Birmingham tonight.

Death came at 7:55 P.M. (Eastern standard time). A few minutes later, Wilson Baker, Selma's Public Safety Director, stepped out of his automobile at Browns Chapel Methodist Church, where 200 demonstrators were praying in the rain, and said:

"Reverend Reeb has died in the hospital in Birmingham."

The word spread immediately through the demonstrators, who were holding their second all night vigil for the wounded minister, and inside the church, where a rally was under way.

John Lewis, the chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, left the church and told the demonstrators:

Reverend Reeb Dies

Boston would be the place most affected by the new law. Most of the white legislators from Boston had been strongly opposed to the law. The people they represented were opposed to it. The School Committee also denounced the law. Not only was the Committee opposed to the law, but they refused to enforce it. They denied that there was an imbalance problem in the Boston Schools.

In September a group of black parents in Roxbury began "Operation Exodus," a private program to bus some black children from Roxbury to white schools which had empty places. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare began to investigate charges of segregation in the Boston schools. In November, all but one of the members of the School Committee were reelected. The one moderate on the racial balance issue was defeated.

1966 On the first anniversary of the Racial Imbalance Act, its supporters met to commemorate its passage and to deplore the lack of progress. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare found 46 racially imbalanced schools in Boston. The Boston School Committee decided to challenge the constitutionality of the Racial Imbalance Act in court.

1967-1971 The State Supreme Court ruled that the Racial Imbalance Act was constitutional. The School Committee still refused to enforce the law. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare found that 62 Boston public schools were now racially imbalanced.

Mrs. Hicks had been defeated in two attempts to become mayor of Boston. Finally, she was elected to Congress. She was a symbol of the anti-busing movement and that movement was becoming ever more popular. Busing, more than integration, had become the issue in Boston.

Ellen Jackson, Leader in "Operation Exodus"

SCHOOL COMMITTEE OF BOSTON vs. BOARD OF EDUCATION & another.

Suffolk. May 4, 1967. — June 9, 1967.

Present: WILKINS, C.J., SPALDING, KIRK, SPIEGEL, & REARDON, JJ.

Education. School and School Committee. Racial Imbalance Law. Constitutional Law, Due process of law, Equal protection of laws, Legislative finding, Presumption of constitutionality. Racial imbalance. *Equity Jurisdiction,* Declaratory relief. *Words,* "Racial imbalance."

This court as a matter of discretion expressed its views in a suit in equity under G. L. c. 231A brought by a school committee to settle a controversy between it and the Board of Education and Commissioner of Education as to the constitutionality of St. 1965, c. 641, providing "for the elimination of racial imbalance in the public schools." [697]

A contention that the racial imbalance act, St. 1965, c. 641, denies due process of law in that it is vague by reason of failure to furnish criteria to aid in classifying students in public schools as white or nonwhite was without merit. [697]

There was no merit in a contention that § 37D of G. L. c. 71, inserted by § 1 of the racial imbalance act, St. 1965, c. 641, denies due process of law in that it is vague by reason of the statement therein that the "term 'racial imbalance' refers to a ratio between nonwhite and other students in public schools which is sharply out of balance with the racial composition of the society in which nonwhite children study, serve and work"; such statement must be read with the definitive declaration in the following sentence that "For the purpose of this section, racial imbalance shall be deemed to exist when the per cent of nonwhite students in any public school is in excess of fifty per cent of the total number of students in such school." [697-698]

The State Supreme Court Ruling

1972 In March the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) filed suit against the Boston School Committee in state court. In September, a state judge ordered the School Committee to prepare a desegregation plan immediately.

1973 Governor Sargent vetoed a bill which would have outlawed school busing without the consent of parents. In August, the State Supreme Court rejected the School Committee's appeal of an order by the State Board of Education that it prepare a desegregation plan. In October, the School Committee voted to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court a plan for desegregation prepared by the State Board of Education which included busing.

1974 In April there was a march to protest busing. Petitions were circulated calling for repeal of the Racial Imbalance Act. The legislature repealed the Act for the second time. This time the Governor did not veto the repeal.

Graffitti in South Boston

An Order to Integrate

The repeal had no impact, because on June 22, 1974 Judge Garrity ruled that integration of the Boston schools was required under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. The ruling came in response to a suit filed in Federal District Court by the NAACP. Judge Garrity ruled that the Boston School Committee had acted deliberately to maintain a pattern of segregation in the schools. This segregation has denied the black students the equal educational opportunity to which they are entitled.

The School Committee denied the charge. They refused to cooperate with the court in drawing up a desegregation plan to begin in September. The Judge ordered into effect a plan drawn up by representatives of the Education Commission for the State. This plan used extensive school busing to transfer black students to previously white schools and white students to black schools.

Wide World Photo

Judge Garrity

Discussion Questions

Answer these questions based on what you have read so far.

1. What groups have been involved in the busing issue?

2. What activities have these groups engaged in?

3. How do you think the activities of various groups have contributed to the busing conflict?

Preparing For a Confrontation: The Actors

So far, the background of the school crisis in Boston has been discussed. Before the opening of school in September, 1974 is considered, some of the participants in the conflict should be listed.

The NAACP, which represented the black community when it brought suit against the School Committee, is one actor. In a sense the NAACP started the conflict by bringing to public notice the problem in the schools. Other groups which support busing are also actors in the conflict. Freedom House is an organization with headquarters in Roxbury. Freedom House actively supports busing and tries to create a positive atmosphere for integration.

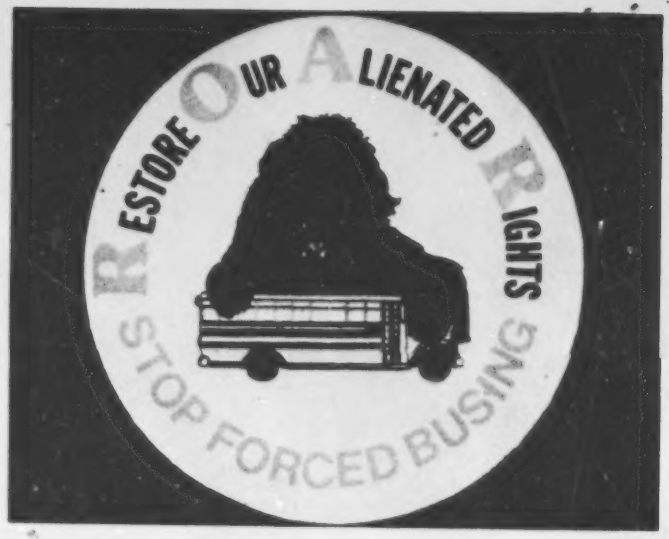
The Boston School Committee is an actor in the conflict. Its anti-busing, anti-integration position is one of the major causes of the conflict. Anti-integration community groups also play a role in the conflict. ROAR, headed by Louise Day Hicks, and the South Boston Information Center are two of these groups.

The U.S. District Court, in the person of Judge Garrity, is a key actor. His order to integrate the Boston Schools triggered the crisis.

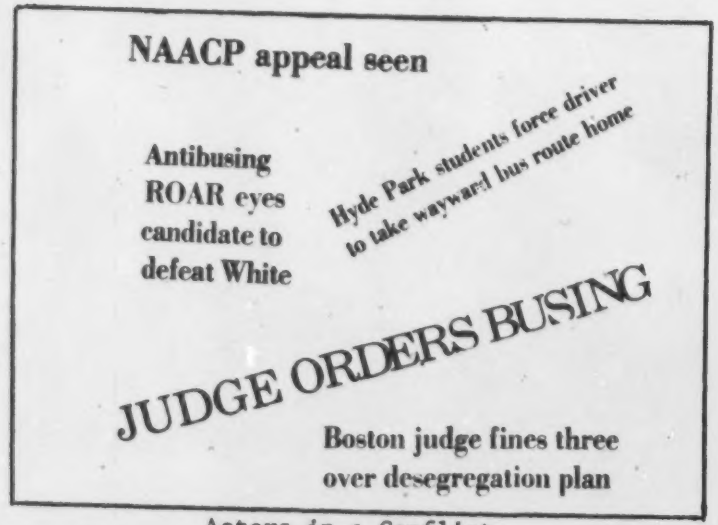
The State Legislature has been an actor. It passed and repealed the Racial Imbalance Act. The governor and the mayor also play roles. Their support or lack of support for integration and busing helps create the atmosphere for the conflict.

Even President Ford became an actor in this conflict. His statements angered one group and pleased another.

The students, teachers, administrators and parents are actors. In some ways they seem more like subjects who do what others tell them, but their behavior influences decisions made at higher levels.



ROAR Campaign Button


NAACP appeal seen

Antibusing ROAR eyes candidate to defeat White

Hyde Park students force driver to take wayward bus route home

JUDGE ORDERS BUSING

Boston judge fines three over desegregation plan

Actors in a Conflict

Boston Tense as Schools Prepare to Open

On September 9th, Senator Kennedy tried to speak to an anti-busing rally. He was pelted with eggs and tomatoes.

At Freedom House pro-busing leaders urged blacks and whites to send their children to school. Anti-busing groups called for a boycott. Several members of the School Committee supported the boycott. Mayor White asked for cooperation with busing even though he opposed forced busing.

School Opens

Thursday, September 12 school opened. In communities affected by busing, most of the students stayed away. Trouble broke out in South Boston where whites stoned buses bringing black students from Roxbury to South Boston High.

The busing plan has combined the schools in Roxbury with the schools in South Boston. In the high schools, 12th graders can stay in their own schools. All 11th graders go to Roxbury and all 10th graders go to South Boston.

UPI Photo

Anti-busing Crowd Jeers Kennedy

UPI Photo

School Opens on South Boston

Violence did not occur at Roxbury High. Most of the blacks there were willing or even eager to have whites come in to their school. So few whites rode the bus from Southie that welcoming those who did come was not too difficult.

The situation was very different in Southie. People here do not want their children to ride a bus to Roxbury. Neither do they want black children to come to school in South Boston. Busing is also an issue in Hyde Park. On the first day, however, there was no violence.

After two trouble-filled days, the schools closed for the weekend. Mayor White met with black leaders, but declined to meet with anti-busing groups. He claimed those groups were not trying to make busing work.

An Opinion From Southie

UPI Photo

Police Escort Buses to School

The Second Week

On Monday, police escorted buses carrying about 110 blacks from Roxbury to South Boston High. Bands of whites roamed through the community shouting, protesting, marching, and waving signs.

The police guarded the school and the buses. They closed bars and liquor stores and banned demonstrations. Nineteen whites were arrested in Southie. Three blacks were arrested in Dorchester for stoning a bus carrying whites to school.

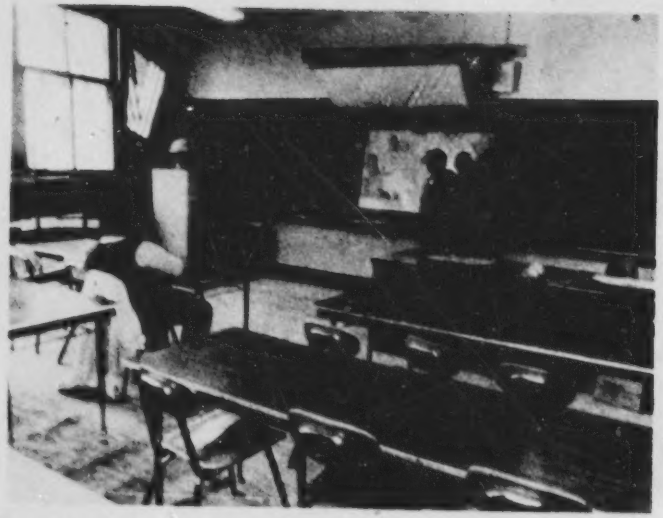
The mayor agreed to meet with three elected representatives from South Boston who opposed busing. These leaders claimed whites were afraid to send their children to school in "crime infested Roxbury."

Later in the week, trouble broke out in Hyde Park. A cafeteria fight triggered a riot. Teachers voted not to work the next day. Outside the school, whites attempted to stone buses. A crowd of about 1500 whites and 400 blacks formed. Blacks tried to stone buses carrying white students home to Hyde Park.

At South Boston about 76 of 1031 whites and 143 of 380 blacks attended school. Police looked on to prevent trouble.

Wide World Photo
Arrest in South Boston

UPI Photo
Fighting at Hyde Park High



UPI Photo

A School Day in Hyde Park

UPI Photo

Attack in South Boston

September Ends

Attendance was up slightly in the schools. In South Boston, the boycott was still strong. The principal at Hyde Park called the situation "not tense, not calm." Students at Hyde Park held meetings. "We know you hate us," a black girl told the white students.

Judge Garrity ordered the School Committee to prepare Phase 2 of the desegregation plan by December 16.

October Begins: Mayor Calls for Federal Marshalls

Mayor White asked Judge Garrity to send U.S. marshalls to Boston. He said the conflict was getting more dangerous each day. Whites marched and held rallies to protest busing. In Southie, they attacked a black man stuck in his car during a traffic jam. The Mayor was also worried about the tension between the police force and the residents of South Boston.

Black parents demanded more protection for their children. Black youths also took part in violent action. They stoned cars drive by whites in Roxbury.

The Judge ruled that Mayor White must first appeal to the Metropolitan Police, then to the state police, and then to the National Guard. If none of those groups could send help, he could ask first for federal troops and then he could ask for U.S. marshalls.

UPI Photo
More Violence at School

President Ford Enters the Conflict

On October 10, President Ford deplored the violence in Boston but added that he "disagrees with the Judge's order." "Ford," said Mayor White, "is fanning the flames of resistance." Black community leaders were angry. White anti-busing groups were delighted.

As President Ford was adding to the conflict in Boston, incidents were continuing. Blacks stoned a white cab driver. Black and white members of the Dorchester High football team rescued some black girls from a group of angry whites.

New York Times Photo
President Ford at News Conference

A secret meeting of black and white leaders was held at City Hall. It was a three hour shouting match. A pro-busing group called for an FBI investigation of a possible conspiracy to defeat busing in Boston.

Governor Calls up National Guard

In mid-October, about 700 blacks participated in a pro-busing march. They were joined at a rally by 700 more whites and blacks. 1500 anti-busing whites demonstrated in front of a hotel where the Democratic party was holding a fund raising dinner.

Governor Sargent responded to the continuing conflict. He asked for federal troops to be sent to Boston. His request was denied. He then called up the National Guard. This action angered Mayor White. He feared the National Guard would only cause more trouble.

The Governor agreed to try to find state money to help Boston pay its police. The overtime pay was running 1.3 million dollars a month.

UPI Photo

Pro-busing March

UPI Photo

Rally Protesting Busing

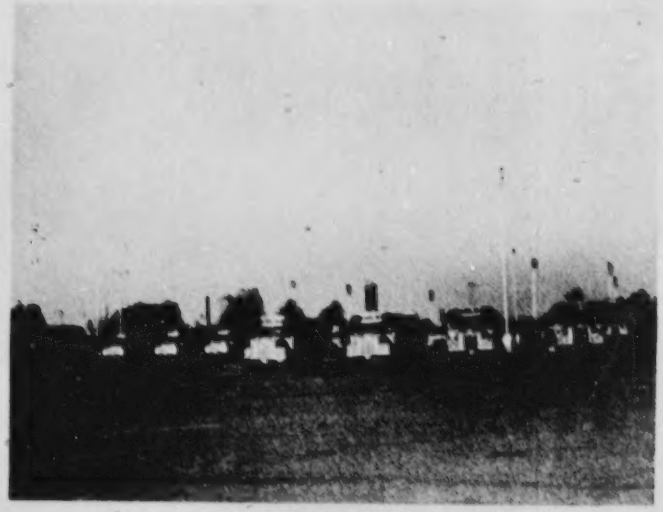
Conflict Continues as October Ends

By the end of October, attendance throughout the Boston School System was 75%. In South Boston it was only 28%. In Hyde Park it was 50%. Incidents continued. An anti-busing rally was held in Hyde Park.

Representatives from suburban communities attended rallies to support the idea of metropolitan busing. Metropolitan busing means that students would be bused from suburbs that are not part of the city of Boston into Boston schools. Students from Boston schools would be bused to suburban schools.

Judge Garrity called for a minimum of busing in the new desegregation plan. The plan must consider safety and practicality. Some neighborhoods which are connected to the city by tunnels may be excluded from the plan. Some groups in these communities have threatened to blow up the tunnels rather than let the buses through.

Sign in South Boston



A Bus Barn

November: Voters Support the School Committee

On election day, the people of Boston voted on a proposal to limit the power of the School Committee. The proposal was soundly defeated. In addition, the members of the Committee were reelected. A majority of the people of Boston showed again that they supported the Committee in its fight against busing.

The anti-busing rallies continued. About 4,000 people marched each weekend. Anti-busing groups raised money and talked of running an anti-busing candidate for mayor. The School Committee argued in Court that segregation in Boston was not deliberate. Incidents decreased in the schools. Some National Guard troops were removed.

Campaign Poster in South Boston

UPI Photo

A Quiet Day in Hyde Park

December: A Stabbing at Southie High

On December 11, an 18-year-old black stabbed a 17-year-old white at South Boston High School. The black student got his knife into school in spite of the metal detectors through which all students must walk as they enter school. The crowd around the school grew to over 1000.

The 131 black students who rode the bus to South Boston High that day were trapped inside the school for 4 hours. They could not get safely to their buses.

One white girl chose to remain with the blacks. She lives in a black neighborhood and rides the bus to school with the black students. She described that day as "the scariest day in my life." She feared not blacks, but the white mob outside the school.

The next day there were walkouts at Hyde Park and other schools. As a result of the stabbing, schools in South Boston and Roxbury closed until after Christmas. Mayor White called for the permanent closing of South Boston High School.

UPI Photo

Riot After Stabbing at Southie High

Wide World Photo

Stoning Buses in Hyde Park

December: Focus on the Courtroom

On December 16, the School Committee voted 3-2 to refuse to approve the Phase 2 desegregation plan prepared by the School Department. The Committee's lawyer submitted the unapproved plan anyway. One of the members of the Committee who voted to approve the plan criticized Judge Garrity for his lack of understanding of "ethnic pride."

On December 27, Judge Garrity found Chairman John Kerrigan, John McDonough and Paul Ellison in contempt of court. These three men voted against the plan. Kerrigan was defiant. He criticized the press, liberals, and blacks.

The Committee lawyer resigned from the case. The U.S. Government cut off federal aid to the Boston schools. The Judge ordered daily fines and told the three men to produce a new plan by January 7.

Mayor White announced that the city of Boston would appeal Judge Garrity's order to the Supreme Court. He said this was necessary to "decide the issue once and for all."

Wide World Photo
School Committee Members
Leaving Court

UPI Photo
Mayor White at Press Conference

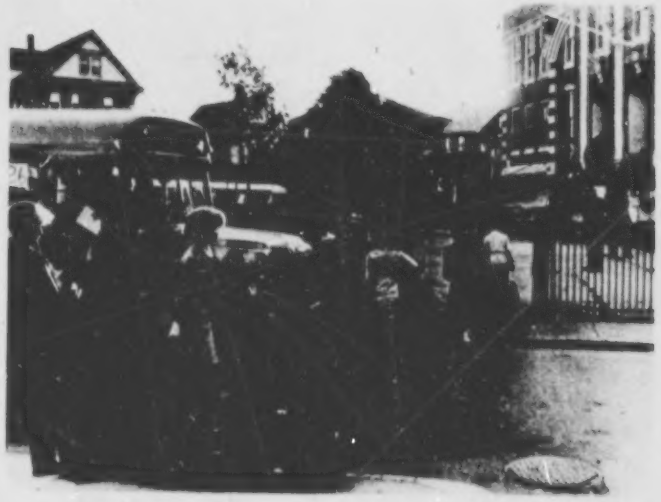
The New Year: School Reopens

In South Boston the schools were relatively quiet. Around 300 police patrolled South Boston High. The South Boston community was upset at calls to close the school. Some people were afraid that more violence would not end busing. It would only mean an end to South Boston High and more busing for the children of Southie.

In Hyde Park incidents continued. 100 police guarded the school; 13 people were arrested and 3 were injured. As had been the case since September, there was no trouble at Roxbury High School.

The difference in atmosphere between Roxbury and South Boston or Hyde Park was noticeable. Roxbury was made a part of the South Boston School District. Whenever South Boston High closes, Roxbury High closes too. Students and teachers at Roxbury claim that the School Committee did not want people to know how well the school year was going at Roxbury because it made Southie look even worse.

Newsweek Photo
Police Patrol South Boston High



UPI Photo
Buses Arrive in Hyde Park

Battle of the Plans

Early in January, Judge Garrity lifted the contempt ruling for the 3 members of the School Committee. They agreed to prepare a new plan for desegregation.

Several new plans are being prepared. The NAACP has one, the Home and School Association has one, the State Board of Education has one, and the Committee has one. There is also the original Phase II plan which the school department drew up to meet Judge Garrity's December 16 deadline.

Judge Garrity appointed several experts to help draw up a "Final" desegregation plan for Phase 2. Their job will be difficult. The plans for Phase 2 range from considerable forced busing to voluntary busing only. A peaceful solution to this conflict does not seem likely in the near future.

UPI Photo

The Other Side of Conflict

Discussion Questions

Answer these questions and save your responses for class discussion.

1. What kinds of incidents happened after school opened in September that would lead you to say there was a political conflict over busing in Boston?

2. How did changes in political resources contribute to the conflict?

3. How did changes in political activities contribute to the conflict?

4. Why do you think the conflict occurred?

5. Do you think some of the general causes of the busing conflict in Boston would also be important to any other political conflict situations such as a conflict over city parks or U.S. foreign policy?

FOUR CASES OF POLITICAL CONFLICT

The following pages contain four different cases of political conflict. These cases are about busing in Detroit, the construction of an expressway in Chicago, the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment in the U.S. Congress and the oil price controversy in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. You will divide into groups to study the cases. Read the case for your group and compare it to what you know about busing in Boston. Use the following questions as a base for drawing conclusions for class discussion.

Discussion Questions

1. What is the conflict about in this case?

2. How is the pattern of resources changing?

3. How are patterns of activity changing?

4. What kinds of contradictions are the focus of the conflict?

5. Why do you think this conflict happened?

Court-Ordered Busing in Detroit

The desegregation case which climaxed in the U.S. District Court of Judge Stephen J. Roth in June, 1972 began in the spring of 1970. At that time the Detroit School Board proposed a far-reaching desegregation plan for the city. The state legislature reacted quickly and passed Public Law 48 to nullify the School Board's plan.

In August, 1970 the NAACP filed suit in federal court to overturn Public Law 48. The suit was denied, but in early 1971, the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered Judge Roth to hold a full trial on racial discrimination in the Detroit schools.

Judge Roth had a longstanding reputation for being a conservative and cautious judge. In 1970 he spoke out against the interference of "outsiders" in Detroit's school system. Then, the only outsiders were lawyers for the pro-busing plaintiffs in the court case, the NAACP and black parents. Judge Roth was also opposed to court-ordered busing plans and to any attempt to involve the suburbs in Detroit desegregation.

Evidence presented at the trial, convinced Judge Roth that government action and inaction in Detroit had unconstitutionally denied black students an equal education.

This de jure (by law) segregation took several forms. Judge Roth concluded that federal, state and local governments, along with private institutions, were responsible for the housing segregation which existed in Detroit. Housing segregation, in turn, was partly responsible for school segregation.

The Judge ruled that the Detroit School Board was also guilty. The Board had set up optional attendance zones which enabled white students to escape from schools where the black population was growing. Black students in overcrowded schools were bused past white schools to black schools further away.

In addition, Judge Roth found that the School Board's reorganization of attendance zones, grade structures, and school feeder patterns maintained and increased racial segregation in the schools. In 1960, 66% of Detroit's black students attended schools which were 90% or more black. By the 1970-71 school year, 75% of the black students attended schools which were 90% or more black.

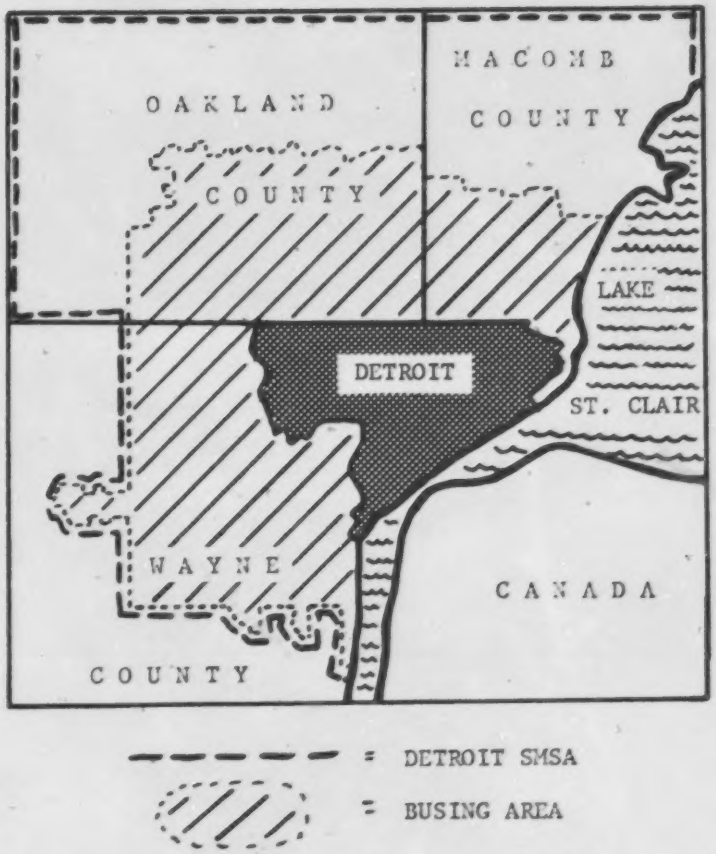
On September 27, 1971 Judge Roth ruled that the Detroit schools were segregated by law. He instructed the Detroit School Board and the State Department of Education to draw up desegregation plans for the city of Detroit and for the whole metropolitan area.

In March 1972 the Judge rejected the "Detroit-only" desegregation plans. Since black students were 65% of the student population, a city desegregation plan would make all the schools mostly black. Judge Roth argued that this would increase the flight of whites from the city, and would lower further the quality of education in the Detroit schools. A second factor in his decision was the lack of school buses in Detroit. School buses were used extensively in the suburbs, but not in the city. It would have been too costly to create an urban school transportation system. The solution was a metropolitan desegregation plan.

Judge Roth studied metropolitan plans submitted by the State Department of Education, the NAACP, and the Citizens Committee for Better Schools. The CCBS is a group of white Detroit parents who favored metropolitan busing for integration. On June 14, 1972 Judge Roth ordered the start of busing in the fall of 1972. His plan, based primarily on the one submitted by the NAACP, affected Detroit and 53 suburban school districts (See the map on page 3). The schools in the busing area were to be divided into 16 clusters. Each cluster contained schools from Detroit and from suburban school districts.

Students would be bused within the cluster to achieve racial balance throughout the metropolitan area.

The plan was to be fully implemented by the fall of 1973. Then approximately 25% of the students in each school would be black. In 1972 the Detroit schools were 65% black, while suburban schools were more than 90% white. The Judge's order set off an explosive controversy, one which had been brewing since 1970.



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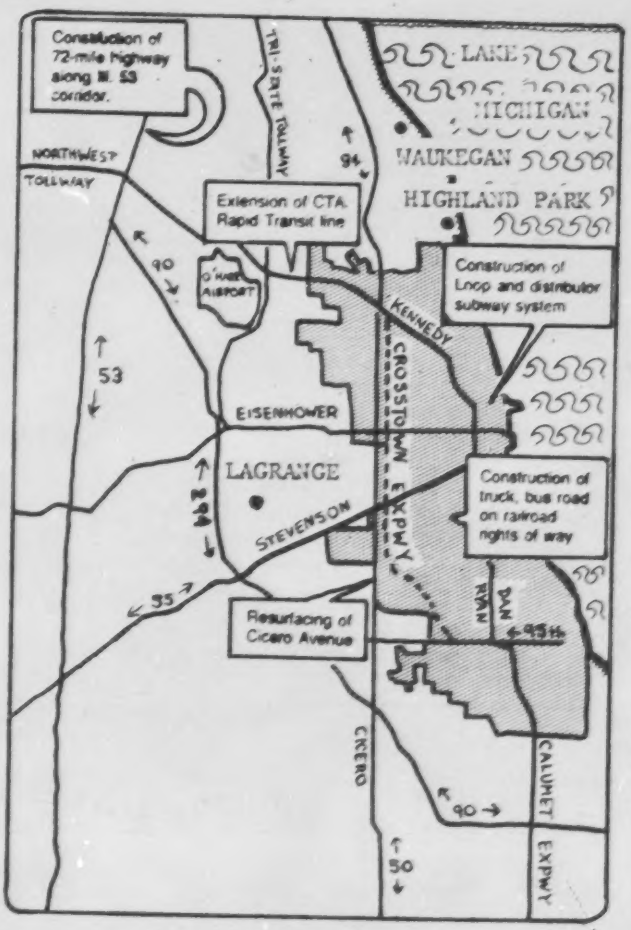
THE CROSSTOWN CONTROVERSY

Mayor Daley has wanted to build a Crosstown Expressway for a long time. Transportation is a major problem for the city, and many streets are clogged with commuter and business traffic. Daley has proposed to build a 22-mile expressway across the west and south sides of the city. This crosstown expressway would connect major traffic arteries such as the Kennedy, Stevenson, and Dan Ryan Expressways so that business traffic would not have to use residential streets.

It's hard to imagine how anyone could object to solving a transportation problem as large and as pressing as the one in Chicago. However, there are real reasons why the expressway might not be such a good idea. Governor Dan Walker thinks it's a bad idea. He has consistently refused to supply state funds to aid the project. He says that the city needs a rapid transit system far more than it needs another expressway. He also says the road will



not aid the traffic problem in any major way, and it will cost over one billion dollars to build.

Governor Walker isn't the only one who thinks the expressway is a bad move. Many citizens' groups are opposed to it. The Citizens Action Program (CAP) has come out firmly against the expressway. They say that thousands of residents and hundreds of businesses will be dislocated because of the construction of the road. They are vocal and strong in city council meetings and other government circles.

The issue continues to grow more heated year by year. How it will be decided, no one knows. The Federal government has issued a regulation which allows the city to use its own funds to build the expressway. Governor Walker no longer stands in Mayor Daley's way. But many people oppose siphoning money from the motor fuel fund which would otherwise be used to make improvements on residential streets. The outcome of the expressway issue remains in doubt.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Munich, No. 8, West Germany
Leopoldstrasse 12
Spring, 1975

Dear Ken,

Hi! I really enjoyed my trip to the United States and my visit with your family. My family hopes you can come to visit us sometime. I have a favor to ask. Our sociology class is investigating the status of women around the world. I volunteered to find out about the Equal Rights Amendment in the United States. I remember that you were interested in it. Can you help?

For starters, I need to know some background. How did the legislation pass the United States Congress? I've read that an equal rights amendment was first introduced in Congress in 1923. Why did it take so long? Why did it finally pass? There's so much I want to ask but I must stop for now. I hope your family is well and that you are enjoying the school year. I look forward to hearing from you.

As ever,

Margot

Margot Fredrick

513 North Park Avenue
Marcus, Indiana
USA
Spring, 1975

Dear Margot,

I was happy to hear from you. Your class project sounds fascinating and I'll try to help. My parents have some friends who have been working for the ratification of the ERA, and they've given me lots of information.

You're right, a women's equal rights amendment was first proposed in 1923, but it wasn't passed by Congress until March 1972. That's a long wait, especially since both the Republican and Democratic parties have endorsed its principles since 1940. Of course, it's harder to pass legislation than to endorse it.

It's especially difficult to amend the U.S. Constitution. A proposed amendment must pass both houses of Congress by a 2/3 majority. Then it has to be ratified by 3/4 of the state legislatures.

The ERA never even reached the floor of the House of Representatives until August 1970, although it was debated in the Senate several times. In fact, the Senate passed an equal rights amendment in 1950 and 1953, but it was a watered-down version and never got through the House.

The amendment which was finally passed says: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress and the several States shall have power, within their respective jurisdictions, to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." That wording has been the same since 1943.

Why, you ask, has it taken so long to pass an amendment supported by both parties, one which was introduced in every Congress for 49 years? Some congressmen have always felt that women's equal rights were already guaranteed by the constitution in the 14th Amendment. If there were still inequities, they argued, they should be eliminated by legislation, not by a constitutional amendment. They noted that the Civil Rights Act of 1974 said a person could not be discriminated against because of sex, as well as because of race, color, religion or national origin.

Other congressmen felt that although women were equal politically, in other areas, they needed to be protected. An example of this is state laws which limit the number of hours a woman could work and the type of job she could hold. If these were thrown out by ERA, they argued, women would be exploited like they were back in the 1800's.

These aren't all the reasons for the opposition to ERA, but it gives you an idea. I'll try to find more on this if you want. Actually, most members of Congress had never had to take a position on ERA because it usually stayed bottled up in a committee.

From 1948 to 1970 one man kept ERA from getting to the House floor. His name is Emanuel Celler, and he's the Democratic chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. Whenever the amendment was introduced, it went routinely to his committee for consideration. In all that time he never even held a debate on it. It just sat there. That kind of power is hard to fight.

If one woman hadn't tried, I doubt if ERA would have ever passed. She is Martha Griffiths, Democratic congresswoman from Michigan. She had been pushing ERA ever since she first came to Congress in 1955.

Supporters of ERA, like Rep. Griffiths, disagree that the 14th Amendment was adequate protection for women's equal rights because the courts had never forcefully applied it. (In November, 1973 the Supreme Court did rule that the "equal protection" of the 14th Amendment applied to women, but rather than forbidding outright discrimination based on sex, it only ruled against "arbitrary preference.") The same thing could be said about the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Attempts to apply it to discrimination against women, in their opinion, were painstakingly slow.

I've included a list of the inequalities that the ERA is supposed to help eliminate. Some of the things have changed since 1970 when most of the data was published, but this was pretty much the situation when the ERA passed Congress.

Rep. Griffiths agreed with the ERA critics that women should not have to work 15 hours a day in "sweat shops," but then neither should men. According to her, many of the so-called protective labor laws prevented women from taking better paying jobs. Protective laws which were essential to health and safety, she said, should be expanded to include men, and any others should be discarded. The Equal Rights Amendment, in her opinion, would do this quickly and efficiently.

Rep. Griffiths introduced the ERA in the House of Representatives on January 16, 1969, and it was promptly sent to Celler's Judiciary Committee. When no action was taken by the spring of 1970, she decided to fight. There was a parliamentary maneuver which she could use as a weapon. It is called a "discharge petition." A discharge petition, which in this case would take the ERA out of the hands of the Judiciary Committee

and bring it to the House floor, must be signed by 1/2 the membership of the House, plus 1. It then has to be approved by a vote of the House. Rep. Griffiths introduced her discharge petition on June 11, 1970. It had enough signatures by July 20, and it passed the House on August 10.

It was like uncorking a bottle of champagne once things began to happen. On the very same day that the discharge petition was approved, the House held a one hour debate on the amendment and passed it 350 to 15.

Do you believe that? One hour of debate in 47 years and "poof!" it passes! Of course, it still had to be passed by the Senate, but this was a major victory.

Senator Eugene McCarthy, a Democrat from Minnesota, introduced the ERA in the Senate on February 28, 1969. The bill had 43 co-sponsors at first, and the number eventually grew to 80. That means 80 out of 100 Senators were openly in favor of the measure, but that didn't guarantee its rapid passage. It went first to the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments. The Subcommittee, headed by Democrat Birch Bayh held hearings in May 1970 after prodding by women's groups lobbying in support of ERA. The amendment was favorably reported to the full Senate Judiciary Committee on July 28, but it got stuck there like it had in the House.

The chance to revive it came after the House passed it and sent it to the Senate. Majority Leader Mike Mansfield by-passed the Judiciary Committee by placing the House bill directly on the Senate calendar. Debate on ERA was held on the Senate floor in October 1970, but attempts by the opposition to alter it stalled its progress once more.

The House had to repass the measure, which it did on October 12, 1971, because a new Congress convened in 1971, and it was the Senate's turn again! Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina continued to try to amend the measure to exempt protective labor legislation, but his efforts failed. On March 22, 1972 the U.S. Senate passed ERA by a vote of 84 to 8.

You asked why the ERA finally passed the Congress. There are several reasons for that. Rep. Griffiths' persistant and skillful guidance certainly helped overcome the bureaucratic roadblocks. A major factor particularly in the Senate struggle was the activity of a women's lobby. Ninety-two national organizations formed a coordinating body called "Women United" to work for passage of the ERA. Some of these organizations included the National Organization for Women, the National Women's Political Caucus, the Teamsters Union and the United Auto Workers. One of the successful activities of "Women United" was a massive letter writing campaign to the President and to Senators. It certainly was effective on the President since he quickly came out in favor of the amendment.

I've already mentioned that the women's lobby prodded Senator Bayh into holding hearings on the amendment. Another factor, of course, was the fact that 1972 was an election year, and the majority of voters were women. I'm sure too that some Senators thought that the ERA was needed and was just.

I hope this will be helpful to your class. I will keep collecting information in case you have any more questions. We were happy to have you

visit and we're glad you enjoyed your stay. I hope you'll write again soon.

Take care,

Ken

Ken Ritchie

Inequality of Women -- 1970*

A. Wages

1. In 1968 a man working full-time averaged $7,664 a year while a woman averaged $4,457. The primary reason for the difference in wages was that women worked in lower level jobs more often than men.

2. Women often earned less than men for the same job. For example, a female chemist earned $9,000 compared to the overall average salary for a chemist of $13,500.

3. In 1968, 60% of the women and 20% of the men earned less than $5,000, but 28% of the men and only 3% of the women earned over $10,000.

B. Job Discrimination

1. State laws sometimes restricted the types of jobs women could do. For example, in 1969 women could not clean moving machinery in Minnesota or Michigan nor work as a bellhop in Washington. In California a woman could not lift more than 10 pounds on the job.

2. Women could be fired for being pregnant, and sometimes women were not hired simply because they were of child-bearing age and <u>might</u> become pregnant.

C. Finances

1. Single and divorced women had trouble getting credit or mortgages. Married women usually had to apply for credit in their husband's name. The mayor of Davenport, Iowa, was denied a BankAmericard because <u>her husband</u> hadn't signed the application.

2. When a husband and wife applied for credit, the wife's salary was often not considered, even if it was larger than the husband's.

D. Citizenship

1. Although women are a majority of the population, in 1970 there was only one female U.S. Senator (today there are none) and 10 Representatives. Women often rose to these offices or to state offices because of the deaths of their husbands.

2. Of the 8,750 judges sitting in 1970, only 300 were women.

*I don't have any statistics which show how much of this inequality has been reduced since 1970. Limited progress has been made through individual lawsuits. For example, women often sue for "equal pay for equal work." The principle has been accepted, but many employers still find ways to get around it. Some of the state protective labor laws have been ruled unconstitutional, but this has also been on a piecemeal basis. In addition, some employers have enlightened policies toward maternity leaves, but that is far from universal.

THE PRICE OF OIL

High oil prices are a hot issue. Everyone who drives a car feels the pressure of oil prices. Many U.S. politicians are arguing for "energy independence" as a result of recent moves by Middle East oil producing nations to use oil as a political weapon. In the middle of the debate over oil prices is an organization called OPEC. Twelve nations that produce oil belong to the organization. Some members of OPEC agree that oil prices are too high. Other members disagree and would like to raise their oil prices even higher. The result is a conflict within OPEC.

What is OPEC? Who belongs to it? What is its role in the oil price dispute?

In 1960, five nations that produce oil were upset because oil companies began to pay them even less for their oil than they had in 1959. These nations felt that the oil companies were making too much money. Alone, each nation could do little to raise the prices that oil companies paid them for their oil. Together they might be able to influence the companies. Therefore, they founded an organization called the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, or OPEC. All of the founding nations -- Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, Iran, Iraq, and Kuwait -- export oil to other nations.

At first OPEC had little influence on anyone. The oil companies pretended that it did not exist. They expected it to fall apart. Instead of falling apart, OPEC grew. During the 1960's and early 1970's eight other countries that export oil joined OPEC. Some of these nations

ORGANIZATION of PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OPEC)

1. Ecuador
2. Venezuela
3. Algeria
4. Nigeria
5. Libya
6. Saudi Arabia
7. Iraq
8. Kuwait
9. Qatar
10. United Arab Emirates
11. Iran
12. Indonesia

are African: Nigeria, Algeria, and Libya. Some are Asian: Indonesia, Qatar, and United Arab Emirates. Another nation that joined OPEC was Ecuador, which is in Latin America.

How does OPEC work? Twice a year OPEC holds meetings. No resolutions can be passed at these meetings unless every OPEC nation agrees. Any nation can block a resolution by voting against it. If a vote is 10 in favor and 2 opposed, the resolution is defeated. As a result of this voting rule, there is much discussion among OPEC members before the organization does anything new.

Is OPEC important? In the 1960's it accomplished little. But in the 1970's it has become very important. Think of OPEC in terms of countries sending goods to each other. Nations trade more oil than any other single item, such as wheat, sugar, cars or radios. Of the oil that is traded between countries, over 80% is from OPEC nations. Factories, cars, and in many places, homes need oil for heat and energy.

In 1971, OPEC began to charge oil companies more and to raise oil prices. Prices jumped from about $2 per barrel to over $11 per barrel. At the same time, most OPEC nations were gaining more and more control over the oil companies, like Shell, Exon, Mobil, and others, that were pumping their oil. The result is that some OPEC countries have become quite wealthy. In one OPEC nation, the United Arab Emirates, the average income from oil <u>for each person</u> is $21,000 per year!

OPEC's new wealth and power makes the oil price dispute a crucial issue for everyone. In 1973, the oil price dispute was at its height. Essentially the Saudi Arabians believed that the oil nations should not

hurt other nations by charging very high oil prices. Early in 1974, Saudi Arabian officials said that oil prices were too high and were damaging many nations, especially poor countries which cannot afford expensive oil.

Most other OPEC nations believed that it was more important for them to make money than to worry about other countries. Libya and Iraq, for example, argued that the price should go higher. Their reason was that inflation was making the dollar worth less; therefore, they should charge more dollars for their oil. Ideologically, a split was occurring in OPEC that divided nations into two groups: The Saudis against everyone else.

Something else was happening. OPEC nations such as Iran, Venezuela, Nigeria, and Algeria were making more money from oil. But because they have large populations, they were also spending much of that money. Other nations were able to put almost all of their new earnings into banks. Within OPEC, then, the distribution of wealth was changing. Saudi Arabia, with a medium sized population but a huge amount of oil, was one of the nations able to save a great deal of money. This made Saudi Arabia more able to act on its own than before. It also made conflict more likely.

At OPEC's June meeting, held in Quito, Ecuador, Saudi Arabia argued that oil prices should be lowered. The Saudi Arabian minister said the high prices resulted from the October, 1973 Middle East war, and should not be maintained. High oil prices, he argued, hurt industrial nations that the OPEC countries needed as sources of manufactured goods. He also said that hurting industrial nations such as Japan, France,

Britain and Italy also helps the Soviet Bloc in the long run. The Algerian and Iranian delegates wanted the price raised, and they based their case on inflation. Since the cost of manufactured goods was rising, it was only fair for the oil nations to raise the prices of oil charged to manufacturing nations.

Reportedly, the meeting was bitter and intense. Some nations argued for raising the price. Saudi Arabia's delegate threatened that if the prices were raised, Saudi Arabia would both lower its price and produce more cheap oil. Some other nations responded that if Saudi Arabia produced more oil they would produce less. For nations with large populations this would be difficult; for nations with small populations, like Kuwait, it would be easy.

It was finally agreed, with all nations except Saudi Arabia wanting to raise the price, that the price would stay frozen until September. The oil price battle continues today, but the dimensions of the conflict remain essentially the same as they were in 1973.

Part B: Inequality and Competition

Conflicts occur for a variety of reasons. One factor which is easy to see is that INEQUALITY contributes to conflict. Unequal educational opportunity contributed to the debate which resulted in busing in Boston. People who wanted their children to have a good education wanted better schools. Because their children were important to them, they had a large stake in good schools. They valued education very much. The inequality made the stake seem clearer. They could see the injustice every day as their children went to school. Therefore, inequality tends to increase people's stake in a conflict. It makes people feel that a cause is worth fighting for.

Another important factor contributing to conflict is competition. When groups with a stake in an issue have opposing goals and only one group can win, then they must compete to get what they want. This competition tends to intensify conflict. In the Boston case, ROAR, the School Committee, the NAACP, and the courts are all in competition. Some want busing, others are against it. Because two solutions are impossible, the groups compete for their goals. This competition tends to make a conflict more intense.

Let's look at an example of how inequality and competition affect conflict. The example is the growth of ROAR, an anti-busing group in Boston. ROAR began shortly after Judge Garrity made his busing decision. At that time, the group was called "The Save Boston Committee." It was formed to stop forced busing. Basically, people in the group didn't want their children to leave neighborhood schools in which they felt they received a good education. Sending students to schools in black neighborhoods would just create inequality for whites. "They shall not take our children

from us," they chanted.

Not too long after school started, several groups came out in favor of busing. The Governor, the Mayor, Freedom House were all pro-busing. The "Save Boston Committee" changed its name and became ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights). The group took on symbols and began marches, meetings and increased its membership. ROAR began taking positions on issues and moved farther into the anti-busing camp until their slogan became "We'll do it ROAR's way!" They continue today to fight harder and harder against busing. As the Southie dweller said, "We won't take it if it comes to the gun."

In this case, whites perceived an inequality in busing their children to black schools which they believed were inferior. This inequality increased their stake in taking action. They were losing and they wanted the best for their children. When other groups began to challenge them, the group became more active and more vigorous in its appeal against forced busing. In this way, competition increased the intensity of the conflict.

Now look at the items in your data packet, "US and THEM," for material about inequality and competition in Boston and other conflicts. Use the space here to fill in responses for class discussion.

Discussion Questions

1. What basic inequalities are demonstrated in the Boston maps and tables?

2. What are similarities and differences in the competing busing plans in the Boston Globe article?

3. How do inequality and competition contribute to the busing conflict?

4. What are some similarities and differences between the way inequality and competition affect conflict in Boston and in Detroit?

5. How is the conflict in Chicago similar or different from Boston?

6. How is the conflict over ERA similar or different from Boston?

7. How is the conflict over the price of oil in OPEC similar or different from Boston?

8. Do inequality and competition seem to have similar effects on conflict in all four cases? What are the similar effects? What are the differences in effects?

Part C: Boycott

You have now thought a lot about the busing conflict in Boston. You have seen how the School Committee, the courts, teachers, students and many others have acted and reacted in the controversy. Think for a moment about how you feel about busing. Then read the "Boycott" case on the next few pages. When you have finished reading, answer the questions below:

1. In general, do you think there should be busing at South Boston High? Why or why not?

2. Do you think this particular group of students should boycott the school? State some reasons for your position.

3. If you were part of this group, how would you participate in the evening meeting? Would you act like George? Colleen? Mike?

BOYCOTT

Mike wondered how this meeting would turn out. Normally, he and John Flanigan, George Sweeney, Colleen Riley, Kathy McLaughlin, and Patrick O'Shea met after school to plan neighborhood ball games or parties. Neighborhood gatherings like these were common throughout South Boston. Today, the group had more serious business to discuss.

It was October 1. Many Southie students had already decided not to come to school. The pressure to boycott was rising. John Flanigan had called the meeting to see whether the group could take a stand for or against going to school. Then they could try to influence other students to join them and make their actions school-wide.

John began the meeting by presenting the problems as he saw it. He said that many students were boycotting South Boston High as long as the black students were bused there. Some students felt it was a matter of principle because they were against forced busing. Others were afraid of the violence at school. John said they could support the boycott, but they would probably be out of school all year. They could try to organize some other form of protest. They could picket the school to try to intimidate the students who were bused. They could also make it very hard on the black students by organizing fights in the halls. Or they could do nothing. Doing nothing, however, gave support to those who favored busing.

Mike stayed qui , waiting for George's reaction. He didn't have to wait long. George was adamant. His sister had been hurt in a fight in the school only yesterday. He wanted everyone to boycott. He said the school was unsafe. They didn't learn anything in school anyway, so it wouldn't hurt them to stay out. Going to school just wasn't worth the risk of

UPI Photo

Boycott in South Boston

getting hurt.

Kathy agreed. She said she would go to another school if her parents could afford it. Otherwise, there were alternative classes being run at many public places in South Boston. There was even one right down the street at the Pleasure Bay Lounge.

Mike was worried. He wanted a job at the market close to his home when he graduated in June. The manager wouldn't let him have the job without his diploma. He was relieved when Patrick spoke out against the boycott. Like Mike, Patrick needed his diploma. He wanted to go to college and didn't want to stay behind another year. Besides, the busing situation could get worse next year.

George and Patrick began to debate the pros and cons of the boycott. The meeting was getting hot. Mike wondered why no one seemed able to find some compromise. It was Colleen who finally said they should go home to dinner and come back with some other alternatives. She knew they wouldn't get anywhere arguing and she wanted George and Patrick to have some time to cool off.

So the group broke up and agreed to meet at 8:00 that night at Colleen's house. As Mike walked home, he tried to puzzle through the problem. How could they make their protest known without doing damage to their plans for the future? Could busing work after all?

ACTIVITY THREE: GETTING IT TOGETHER

Below is a list of major groups which are actors in the Boston busing issue. The list is quite long:

General Political System	School Political System
School Committee	School Department
District Court	Boston Public Schools
Mayor's Office	Hyde Park High
Freedom House	Roxbury High
ROAR	South Boston High
Home and School Associations	
Boston Globe	
Police Department	

Many of these groups have been in existence for years. Others, like Freedom House and ROAR, were formed in response to the busing issue. These latter types of groups play important parts in how conflict begins and what happens during a conflict.

Political Mobilization

When a group begins to form and people begin to build an organizational structure, we can say that people are being "mobilized" behind an issue. Mobilization is a process through which people with common goals attempt to organize their activities and to affect policy outcomes. In the Boston case, blacks with a common goal of promoting busing organized their activities by forming the Institute on Schools and Education within Freedom House. They wanted to be sure that the busing order was enforced. On the other hand, whites with a common goal of stopping busing formed ROAR. They wanted busing ended now.

Both of these groups and others have had a major impact on the busing conflict. How did they get to be important? What effect did the mobilization of these groups have on conflict? The diary of Freedom House which

begins on the next page shows how the Institute on Schools and Education was formed and acted during the peak of the busing crisis. As you read the diary, write down what you believe are the major steps in the growth of the Institute.

Steps in the Growth of the Institute

1.

2.

3.

4.

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7.

8.

9.

10.

Freedom House 1974 -- A Diary of An Organization
by Dennis Roach
Media Co-ordinator

February

Feb. 13 The Institute on Schools and Education becomes a part of Freedom House. Freedom House is a community center. Since its beginning 25 years ago, Freedom House has organized local residents behind urban renewal, developed police-community relations programs, encouraged black employment, and maintained an information service on a wide range of problems. There are really too many activities to list them all. Under the general organization called Freedom House is the Institute on Schools and Education, which is now being formed to deal with the Boston Public School System and help people of the community deal with the problems of the school system.

The catalyst for the formation of this particular group is a disappointing meeting we held today at Freedom House at the request of Superintendent William Leary. Mr. Leary was seeking an opportunity to discuss the implementation of desegregation in Boston with leaders of the black community and members of Freedom House. During the course of the meeting, it became clear that Mr. Leary's hands are tied by the School Committee insofar as implementing the State Plan is concerned. There seems

to be an urgent need for responsible citizen efforts in the black community directed toward minimizing the prevailing climate of fear and racial tension surrounding the desegregation issue and toward providing positive input into the planning process.

Feb. 15 Ellen Jackson is now the Director, and is coming on board and starting the whole thing rolling through the help of the co-directors of Freedom House, Otto and Muriel Snowdon. Ann Stutz is also coming on board with Mrs. Jackson. Ann serves as Ellen's administrative assistant and does many things, including going to meetings and planning activities.

We also have another person coming, our research assistant, Carolyn Durrum. Carolyn gathers information about busing and answers people's questions. And we have a student advocate, Bob Persley, who is a person who goes out in the community and helps a student who is having problems in the school, or a new person. The parent will go up with the student advocate and thrash out the problem with the principal so the parent doesn't feel overwhelmed by the whole situation.

Feb. 18 and 25 Strategy and information sessions are being held. Since it is considered vital that facts about the desegregation plan be disseminated to the public, substantial portions of these meetings are devoted to educating

members of the group and representatives from other community groups about the plan.

Feb. 26 — Every Monday night the NAACP lawyers are here. We meet with them to plan activities in regard to the desegregation suit filed with Judge Garrity. There are also different leaders of community agencies.

March

March 12 — Press conference at Freedom House. A statement is released urging responsible action and city-wide cooperation in implementing the desegregation plan and making some specific implementation proposals. Over 700 signatures were gathered in the black community in support of this statement. Copies of the proposals are being sent to over 80 prominent public figures urging their support and assistance.

March 15 — Planning for the Racial Imbalance Hearings. No demonstration or march is planned. It is decided that participants will try to set a completely different tone for the April 4 hearings. They want to draw as much contrast as possible between themselves as moral, rational human beings, and the hysterical "Save the City" demonstrators.

March 20 — We begin holding dinners -- breaking bread together. The dinners are held downstairs. They involve leaders, both black and white, people from the police department, parents, both black and white, who come to discuss what they felt is going to be needed to implement the plan. Of course, safety is number one. Quality education is THE thing. I don't really think anybody knows how big a word that is. Somebody says 'quality education' and that's not what I mean. I mean quality education and that's something else. And some of the safety measures are discussed to make sure that the bus routes are strategically planned so they won't be in the way of any traffic. The bus stops have to be in the right places. Liquor stores have to be closed, or anything like places where gangs of kids might be handing out, to prevent any violence or gatherings.

March 25 — Task forces about Media, Safety and Transportation, Community Relations, and Curriculum and Staff Development are formed. Each member of the Institute was asked to ~~choose a task force to work in to recruit additional~~ manpower for that particular task from outside the group, and then to serve as a liaison between the original group and the new task force. This is conceived as a logical way of expanding the group without jeopardizing its capacity for working efficiently.

April

April 1 — The Institute advocates a way of getting the schools desegregated. And the way that is brought up through the meetings of the lawyers from the NAACP and eventually by Judge Garrity is busing. The Institute said, "Well, that seems like the only way." It had to be done by September. So you take all the schools, not just elementary, but all the schools up through high school. And so, from then on, we were pushing that point all the way through. We met with parent groups and some student groups.

April 2 — A press conference is called to encourage attendance at the April 4 hearings. We work on a press release expressing our feelings about the need to support desegregation in the Boston schools.

April 4 — Racial Imbalance Hearings are held. We organize people to testify in favor of the Racial Imbalance Law.

May

May 8 — We meet with the Governor and ask him to veto any legislation intended to repeal the Racial Imbalance Law. The governor agrees.

UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

EDWARD W. BROOKE
MASSACHUSETTS

April 23, 1974

Freedom House, Inc
14 Crawford Street
Roxbury, Massachusetts 02121

Dear President Tucker, Board of Directors, and Friends:

Back in 1950, Freedom House and I had offices in the old Humboldt Theatre Building, and later we were neighbors on Crawford Street. I remember so well those early days of struggle. My younger daughter attended the Freedom House Play School, and my wife, Remigia, was an assistant to Irene Yates, the Play School Director.

We have come a long way together since then and I am personally grateful for the loyalty and devotion of those connected with this remarkable organization. I wish it well in its 25th anniversary and want to convey my own appreciation of the significant contributions it has made to improving the quality of life for so many people. I hope that it will always have the support it so richly deserves.

Boston and Massachusetts need Freedom House.

Sincerely,

Edward W. Brooke

EDWARD M. KENNEDY
MASSACHUSETTS

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

April 25, 1974

Honorable Herbert E. Tucker, Jr.
Chairman, Board of Directors
Freedom House
14 Crawford Street
Roxbury, Massachusetts

Dear Judge Tucker:

Twenty-five years for Freedom House have passed with so many memories and so many highlights, that I am pleased to have a chance to share my greetings with all of you on such a glorious occasion.

Since its inception, my family has been deeply involved with the effective community service that Freedom House has provided so willingly for so many people.

During the years ahead, it is my hope that you will continue to be a beacon of hope and inspiration to our friends and neighbors throughout Boston.

My fondest regards and best wishes go out to all of you for continued success.

Sincerely,

Edward M. Kennedy

May 20 — We respond to a request from Dean Yarborough to talk with principals of the Boston schools about desegregation.

May 26 — We meet with parents from South Boston and Roxbury to discuss what would happen in the schools in the fall because of busing. This leads to another meeting with police, the transportation department and parents to discuss safety problems in busing.

June

June 1 — I come on board, specifically to deal with the situation of the media, which at that time was very difficult. The whole situation of the media in general, throughout the United States, is difficult. When it comes to the school situation, we have to caution the media in reporting incidents.

June 5 — A meeting is held by representatives of our group with editorial and reporting staff of Channel 4 to discuss balanced reporting and suggest programming ideas.

June 10 — Our radio program, "From the Black Perspective," starts. I got some of the kids to do our radio show. First of all, it's on at eleven o'clock at night. It's not that everybody listens, but at least I went out there and said, "Hey, come on and do the show. We can be very

relaxed, just sit around and chat." They enjoy it immensely. They get a chance to speak on a more widely listened to outlet on the black, WILD station in Boston. They are thrilled about that too.

June 19 — The hotline phone begins. People are calling in a lot on their phones about the school situation. And you need somebody to deal with it.

June 20 — We put together maps with bus routes on them so that parents can come and see how their kids will get to school. We are hanging the maps on the wall. Many parents are already coming to see the maps.

July

July 1 — We work with a lot of teachers in the general system, not just Roxbury High or the area. We have to settle the problems of divisional teachers, or who is going to get first choice if teachers are going to be moved from one school to another to achieve racial balance. A lot of people are upset that some people might not be getting jobs, they might be hiring more black people than whites, and things like that.

July 8 — We recommend the formation of bi-racial groups to help deal with problems of busing. We hope these groups will help understanding between blacks and whites in our community and in schools.

July 17 — We are beginning to hold meetings about safety. Bars need to be closed. Students need to know what to do if a fight starts.

July 23 — We are involved in finding aides who will work in the schools and on the buses. Aides will help ease tension and monitor students' behavior.

August

Aug. 1 — We begin holding meetings to organize the community for problems with busing. We develop a system for "rumor control." We work with the Lena Park Community Center, the Roxbury Multi-Service Center, Elma Lewis School, the Educational Task Force, Model Cities and other groups. We agree to monitor problems on a 24 hour-a-day basis. We will all work together to be responsive to community needs and individual problems. We have a person at the School Department and police with whom we can make immediate contact to check out information about disturbances and new decisions.

Aug. 15 The mayor divides the city into districts. Each district has its own leadership group on busing. We begin to meet once a week with the Roxbury District Group. One outcome of the meeting is to get bars to open later than they otherwise would.

Aug. 21 We meet with parents and students being bused to South Boston and Roxbury High Schools. It is a very successful meeting in which both students and parents raise important issues.

Aug. 25 We begin using television spots. Through television, there are different public service spots that we put on every so often and it actually gets advertising. We have a Question and Answer booklet that our group coordinator puts out. Basically, what parents would like to know about the plan, what questions they have are in the Question and Answer booklet.

September

Sept. 12 We set up 10 hotline phones in the hall. We are having volunteers come in. It's becoming a rumor control kind of thing. The phones are in conjunction with a network of phones that are set up at City Hall. We have a sergeant of police sitting here and he clears up rumors

about things that were happening in Hyde Park. And we volunteer to take a slip of paper wherever we go so that we can take down information about any call we get, and we tell them that we will get a car out there as soon as possible.

We also have community people working in here with the students. It's something where you can just dial on a phone, and the volunteers carry this device with them that would bleep every time there was a call that they were to respond to. And so that those people go out late at night in Hyde Park wearing those, and to reach them, we can just dial a number and say, "Hey, there is another problem down the way. Can you get there?" And those people remained on the job almost 24 hours-a-day.

There are 10 phones out there and if you can imagine them all ringing all the time, that's what it's like.

Sept. 17 Students are coming to Freedom House regularly now. If there is trouble at school, they leave and come here. We're holding classes and serving students lunch when schools are too disrupted for them to attend. We talk out problems and try to ease tension. We hold classes for the students until they go back to school.

Sept. 30 We officially form the Coordinated Social Services group. Their aim is to give direct services to parents and students in the Roxbury community. About 42 agencies join the group. They meet weekly to plan activities and discuss problems.

October

Oct. 1 The Community Social Services Group is officially formed. They meet every Thursday at ten o'clock in the morning. They thrash out the idea of desegregation, Phase Two, and things like that. They have come up with a critique of Phase Two that makes sure that minorities were defined, that special education is not overlooked, and they make sure that the plan was definitely going to be presented properly.

Dr. Reid, the principal at South Boston High, uses our place every once in awhile to hold bi-racial meetings, actually student meetings. These meetings are efforts to get people together over problems with busing.

It's a busy time, and I wonder at how much the Institute has grown in such a short time. I hope all our efforts will pay off and black students will have equal educational opportunity for the first time in Boston's history.

Be sure you have listed the steps in the growth of the Institute. Then answer the questions below.

1. What common goals did people who joined the Institute have?

2. What major activities did the Institute undertake?

3. Does the Institute seem to have had any effect on the busing crisis?

As the Institute on Schools and Education grew, more and more people participated in organized ways in promoting busing. More people were involved in the conflict than otherwise would have been. Their efforts were also organized, so that some direction could be given to their activities. They were also able to use the resources of Freedom House to help their effort. The building could be used for meetings. The leaders could find help and advice from an established group. All of these things tended to promote the mobilization process.

As a result of the mobilization of the Institute, the busing conflict was made more organized and prolonged. Without the Institute, black parents might have given up and other groups, like ROAR, that wanted to stop busing might have succeeded. Therefore, mobilization tends to have the effect of solidifying groups on sides of an issue and extending the time it takes for a conflict to be resolved.

Interdependence

Look again at the list of major actors in the busing conflict. They are listed below:

General Political System	School Political System
School Committee	School Department
District Court	Boston Public Schools
Mayor's Office	Hyde Park High
Freedom House	Roxbury High
ROAR	South Boston High
Home and School Associations	
Boston Globe	
Police Department	

We can consider the school political system to be composed of the school department and all of the 200 Boston public schools. This "system" is dramatically affected by groups in the general political system. The

School Committee, an elected political body, made policies which affected how every school was run. The Court made the busing order that changed everyone's life in the school system. The mayor's office poured funds into policing the busing. Police department staff worked 16-hour shifts to make sure the schools were secure, and often could not prevent violence. ROAR roared and demonstrated. Freedom House ran alternative classrooms and hot lines. All of these groups worked in different ways in the conflict and affected each other.

This effect of one group on another can be called interdependence. Interdependence occurs when groups must interact with other groups in order to get things done. In order to understand how important the idea of interdependence is, think about what would have happened if ROAR alone could have determined what would happen in the Boston schools. There would have been no busing, or violence, or equal educational opportunity. In this case, the Court intervened and ordered busing. Other groups had an opportunity to influence how busing would be carried out. Because people had a voice and their goals were different, the interdependence among groups promoted conflict.

Look again at the Freedom House Diary on page 79. Make a list of the groups that were involved in some way with the activities of the Institute on Schools and Education.

1.	7.
2.	8.
3.	9.
4.	10.
5.	11.
6.	12.

Then answer the questions below:

1. If the Institute could determine the outcome of the busing issue, what would it be?

2. What other groups did the Institute have to take into consideration in promoting busing? What were the goals of these groups?

3. How did other groups affect the activities of the Institute?

Interdependence affects conflict by widening its scope. More groups are involved with a greater variety of positions on an issue. Therefore, the conflict tends to take on more dimensions than it otherwise would. In Boston, both ROAR and Freedom House mobilized parents who had never been active in politics or education before. Remember that Shelly Norwich was concerned about lockers. Sharon O'Connor cared about what students thought and the violence in the schools. Neither the School Committee nor the courts had these particular issues on their minds. Because all of these groups had some say in busing policy, the conflict included more issues and its scope was broader.

The following pages focus on mobilization and interdependence in the conflict over the Equal Rights Amendment. You have studied inequality and

and competition in previous pages in the exchange of letters between Margot and Ken. The series of letters which follow give you more information about the conflict. Read the letters carefully and think about how NOW compares to the Institute on Schools and Education. Also think about how wide a range of groups were involved in the conflict. Then answer the questions which follow the letters.

Munich No. 8, West Germany
Leopoldstrasse 12
Spring, 1975

Dear Ken,

Thanks a lot. Your letter was very helpful. The class really enjoyed it. Everyone was particularly interested in the activities of the women's lobbying groups. You mentioned the National Organization for Women. Don't you have some relatives that belong? We'd like to know more about it.

Here are some of the questions I was asked:

When was NOW formed?

What were its activities before the House of Representatives passed the Equal Rights Amendment?

What did it do to help get ERA through Congress?

What impact did the ERA struggle have on NOW?

I hope helping us isn't taking too much of your time because we are learning a lot about the status of women in the United States.

Give my best to your parents. I hope to see them again some day.

As ever,

Margot

Margot

513 N. Park Avenue
Marcus, Indiana
USA
Spring, 1975

Dear Margot,

I was glad to hear that I have been helpful. Your letter came at just the right time. My aunt and uncle are here for a visit, and they are active in NOW. They've told me a lot about it and have also shown me some articles and books.

NOW was founded in October 1966 by a group of 28 women. They called it the National Organization for Women rather than of women because the organization was open to men. In fact, one of the original vice-presidents was a man. Most of the charter members of NOW were well-educated and active in civic affairs. They had participated in various commissions which were studying the status of women, and they felt that neither the state nor the federal government were concerned enough with the problems of women.

NOW was formed to help women achieve equality with men in the home and in society. The founders of NOW felt that women should have equal access to educational opportunitites and to political rights and responsibilities. NOW's "Statement of Purpose" says, "NOW is dedicated to the proposition that women, first and foremost are human beings, who, like all other people in our society, must have the chance to develop their fullest human potential." NOW intended to act politically by supporting candidates and measures that improve women's status, but it does not support any political party.

You asked about its activities. Well, the first thing it did was set up local chapters since much of the discrimination against women existed

locally. In 1967 it had 14 local chapters. By 1972 it had 200, and this spring there are about 700. That's really rapid growth. It's membership has grown too, from 300 charter members to 20,000 in 1973, to almost 70,000 today.

You might wonder why NOW grew so large so r ,idly. NOW has often worked for issues or causes that are popular among both men and women, such as discrimination against women in jobs or education. Members of NOW have worked at all levels of government to fight laws that discriminated against women. One of the legal precedents they helped establish was that if women were physically able to do a job, they must be given the chance to apply.

One thing which has gotten laughs from some guys has been NOW's attempt to make the "media," TV, radio, newspapers and magazines less "sexist." They have objected, for example, to commercials that make women look dumb or silly. Sometimes people are too sensitive about those sorts of things, but I guess there's some justification. If you see enough commercials showing women worrying about "ring around the collar," you might think that that's all they did.

Anyway, you can see that NOW has been very active even without the battle for the ERA. The ERA is very important to NOW members though. If it becomes law, many of the discriminating laws and practices will be outlawed with one stroke.

NOW was instrumental in getting the ERA through the Senate. It's leaders testified at the Senate hearings and helped document the discrimination against women. They also showed that constitutional wording and existing laws did not protect women from continued discrimination.

An interesting part of the struggle for ERA was that NOW seldom worked alone. Most of the women's organizations worked together to try and pressure Congress into passing the ERA. In my earlier letter I mentioned "Women United," and its letter-writing campaign. It would be wrong to conclude from this that the various groups in the coalition had identical goals. The coalition included NOW, Business and Professional Womens Clubs, the American Civil Liberties Union and the League of Women Voters, among others. These groups were very different politically, but they all wanted ERA to pass, and they were willing to work together to accomplish it.

In many ways, after the ERA passed the Senate, the work of NOW and the other women's organizations had just begun. When it looked like the needed 38 states might not pass the ERA quickly, NOW and 24 other pro-ER' groups began to organize for the state battles. They formed a coalition called the National Equal Rights Amendment Ratification Council. A New York Times article by Eileen Shanahan on May 29, 1973 described how the coalition worked.

> "The National Women's Political Caucus will attempt to identify ... the legislators opposed to the amendment who look defeatable and to find candidates to run against them; NOW plans to analyze the records and the political and economic alliances of every anti-amendment legislator to determine what individuals or groups might bring pressure on these opponents to change their minds ...; Common Cause plans to analyze the arguments that had been raised against the amendment and to prepare answers. It also plans to assist in training grassroots lobbyists for the amendment."

So you can see how an important issue brings these groups together.

Besides organizational work NOW contributed money to the state ratification process. Early in 1973 it sent out letters requesting donations to support ERA in the states. It received $150,000 in a two

month period.*

The effects of the ERA struggle on NOW have been great. Its membership has more than tripled during the process. The publicity surrounding the amendment meant that more women became interested and active in working for equal rights. In addition, since NOW has worked with a variety of women's groups, including some which have been relatively conservative, it has lost some of its "radical" image. By associating with so-called respectable groups on the local and national level, NOW gained respectability among a larger group of women and men. This is true even though NOW has tended to deal with more controversial issues in recent years. This new respectability has had its cost since some women's liberation groups think it is too cautious and conservative. They accuse it of being a bunch of comfortable, middle class women who are afraid to go out on a limb. Of course, to many women and men, NOW still represents radical women's liberation, but then to some people, the Republican Party is a radical organization.

I hope your class finds this information useful. My aunt and uncle say NOW is working hard to win approval in the four more states needed for ratification. If the ERA amendment were not approved, of course, the organization would have even more work trying to fight inequalities on a piece-meal basis.

I look forward to hearing from you again about your class' reaction

*I read two good books about NOW and the ERA. Maybe you can find them. They are: Susan and Martin Tolchin, Clout, Womanpower and Politics, New York, Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, Inc., 1974 and Maren Lockwood Carden, The New Feminist Movement, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1974.

to NOW and the ERA. My folks hope that you'll be able to visit us again soon.

Take care,

Ken

Ken

1. What were some of the major steps in the growth of NOW?

2. What goals did people share who belonged to NOW?

3. What activities did NOW undertake in the ERA controversy?

4. Does NOW seem to have had any effect on the passage of ERA?

5. What are some similarities and differences in the mobilization of the Institute on Schools and Education and NOW?

6. What effects did each group seem to have on conflict?

7. What other groups did NOW have to take into consideration in promoting ERA? What were the goals of these groups?

8. What effects did interdependence have on conflict in both Boston and in the ERA controversy?

ACTIVITY FOUR: BUSING AND THE FUTURE

In this unit you have seen how inequality, competition, mobilization and interdependence all affect political conflict. The fundamental effects can be summarized as follows:

EFFECTS ON POLITICAL CONFLICT

INEQUALITY promotes a stake in taking action on an issue

COMPETITION creates opposition and intensifies conflict conditions.

MOBILIZATION increases the organizational support necessary for conflict.

INTERDEPENDENCE widens the scope of conflict by including more groups and points of view.

In Boston, inequality of educational opportunity existed for many years before busing began in September, 1974. The State Plan called for the removal of racial imbalance in the public schools. Conflict was sparked by the plan. For the first time, whites were going to have to share their educational resources. Specifically, the plan said that "it is the policy of the Commonwealth to encourage all school committees to adopt as educational objectives the promotion of racial balance and the correction of existing racial imbalance in the public schools." They didn't like it in South Boston High and in many other schools. Violence and other tension resulted in South Boston, Hyde Park and Roxbury.

The situation created by the busing plan spawned many new political groups such as ROAR and Freedom House. It also destroyed the dominance of the Boston School Committee. Many groups would compete with alternative

plans. Only one would win. As the situation in the schools worsened, the groups became more vocal and aggressive. Competition had definitely intensified the conflict. Mobilization of groups like Freedom House had given it necessary organizational support to last a long time.

The number of groups who were forced to consider the issue and work on the same problem together were many. The School Committee was not used to the Court sending out orders. Nor was the Court prepared for the advice it would get from numerous interest groups. Home and School Associations became actively involved with government agencies. Parents cared and became active for the first time. It was hard to walk down a street in Boston and not feel the crisis was pending everywhere.

The old system was severely challenged by the court order and the state busing plan. Since school began in 1974, a new plan has been drawn. Many groups participated in drafting the plan. It was approved by Judge Garrity on May 10, 1975. The "Phase 2" plan will be used as a guide for busing during the 1975-76 school year.

A summary of the plan appeared in the Boston Sunday Globe on May 11, 1975. The text of that article is enclosed on the following pages. Read the article and try to determine what you think will happen in the Boston schools next year. Will there be more conflict? Will the system go back to a School Committee-dominated situation?

Discussion Questions

1. What is different about the plan for 1975-76 compared to what happened in busing during 1974-75?

2. What do you think will happen in the Boston schools in 1975-76?

3. Give some reasons why you think your prediction is sound.

4. Can any person or group do something to help the school situation in 1975-76? What do you think they can do?

EXPERIMENTAL MATERIALS

US AND THEM

Judith Gillespie
Stuart Lazarus

These experimental curriculum materials are part of a two-semester high school course, *Comparing Political Experiences*. This data packet is part of a unit, Busing in Boston, which is part of the *Political Issues* semester. The course is being developed by the High School Political Science Curriculum Project, which is one of the projects sponsored by the American Political Science Association's Committee on Pre-College Education. The project is supported by funds provided by the National Science Foundation. These materials cannot oe duplicated, reproduced or used in any manner without the specific written approval of the High School Political Science Curriculum Project.

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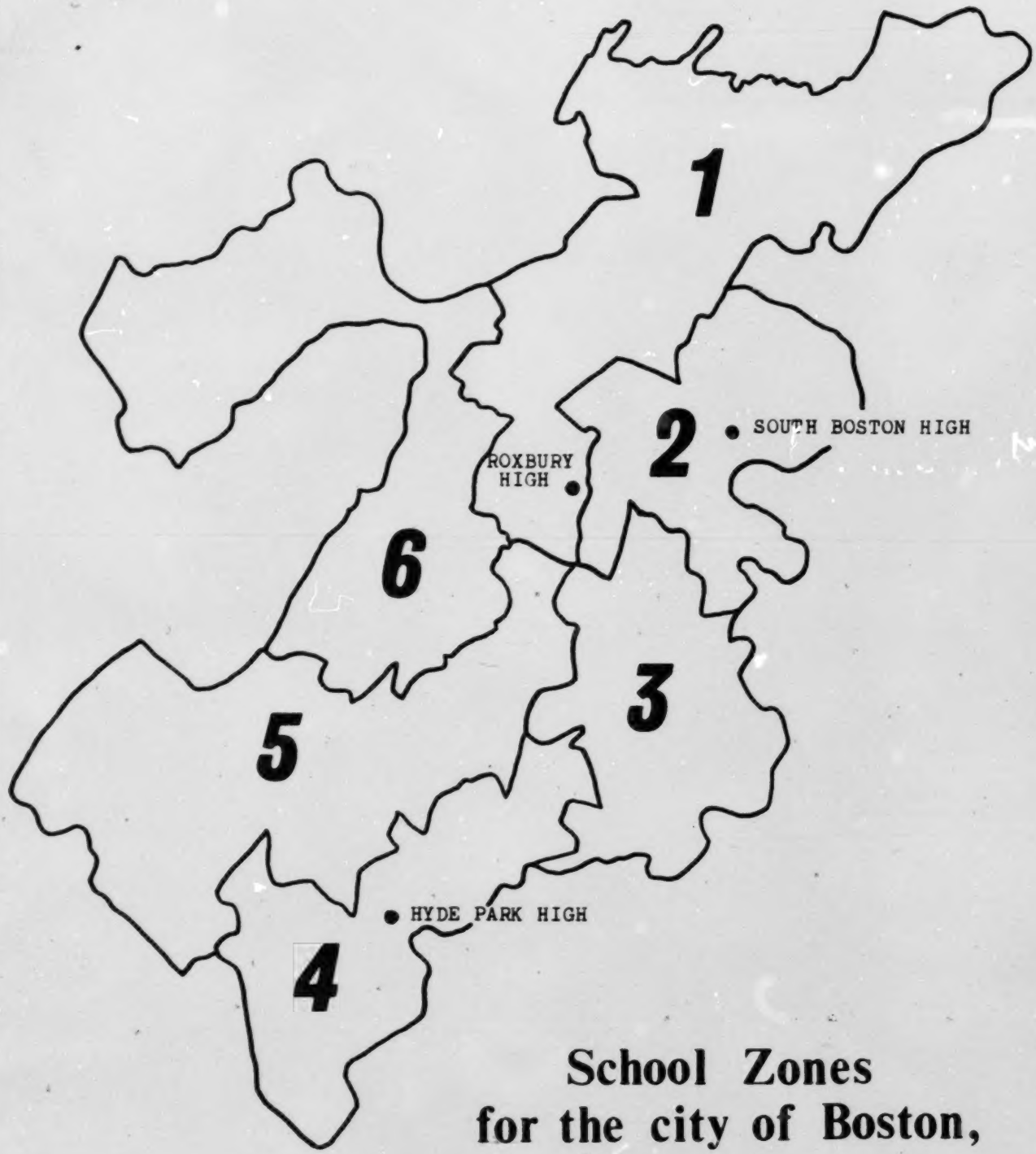
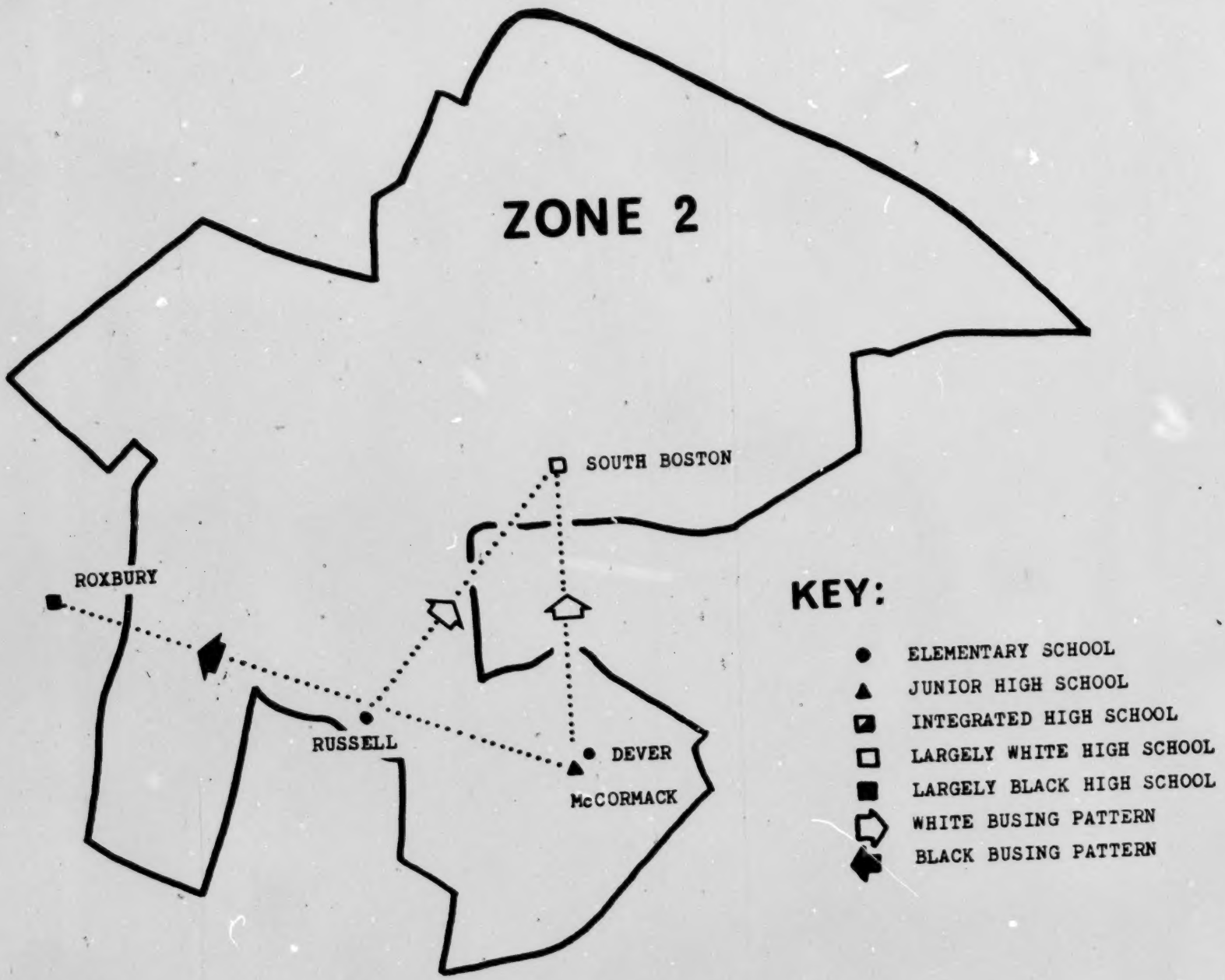


School Zones for the city of Boston, prior to Busing in 1974.


ZONE 2
SOUTH BOSTON
ROXBURY
RUSSELL
DEVER
McCORMACK
KEY:
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
INTEGRATED HIGH SCHOOL
LARGELY WHITE HIGH SCHOOL
LARGELY BLACK HIGH SCHOOL
WHITE BUSING PATTERN
BLACK BUSING PATTERN

TEACHERS 1970-71

The quality of education is related to the quality of teachers. Generally, teachers who consider their full-time, permanent job to be teaching are more qualified and experienced than short-term, provisional teachers. Below are figures on the percent of provisional and permanent teachers in elementary schools in Boston. These figures are representative of those found in junior high and high schools as well. What does the table say about inequality?

% Black Students	Number of Provisionals	% Permanent Teachers
90-100% 24 schools	106	78.1%
80-90% 9 schools	34	74.6%
70-80% 5 schools	15	84.8%
60-70% 4 schools	19	85.7%
50-60% 4 schools	12	85.9%
40-50% 6 schools	25	79.2%
30-40% 9 schools	31	79.2%
20-30% 4 schools	14	81.2%
10-20% 14 schools	19	91.0%
0-10% 78 schools	60	94.6%

Table taken from Judge W. Arthur Garrity Jr., The Boston School Decision Boston: The Community Action Committee of Paperback Booksmith, p. 52.

ADMINISTRATORS 1970-71

Quality education depends a great deal on administrators such as principals and counselors. The following table shows the number of black and white administrators in the Boston schools in 1970-71. What does the table say about inequality?

Position	Whites	Blacks
Principal and Headmaster	76	3
Assistant Principal and Assistant Headmaster	194	11
Director of Department And Manager	27	0
Assistant Director of Department and Assistant Manager	49	2
Supervisor and Consultant	29	2
Attendance Supervisor (Truant Officer)	46	0
Psychologists	28	0
Teachers Assigned to Home Bound Instruction	42	0
Total	491	18

Tables taken from Judge W. Arthur Garrity Jr., The Boston School Decision Boston: The Community Action Committee of Paperback Booksmith, p. 54.

OVERCROWDING 1971-72

One way to measure inequality is to look at how crowded schools are. Overcrowded schools tend to promote less education because classes are large and teaching loads are heavy. The following table shows the racial composition of overcrowded and underutilized schools. What does the table say about inequality at Hyde Park, South Boston and Roxbury High School?

	Racial Makeup		
Overcrowded Schools*	% Black	% Other	% White
Charlestown High	2.0	6.6	91.4
Dorchester High	52.2	1.1	46.8
Hyde Park High	15.3	.7	84.1
Roslindale High	5.1	1.6	93.3
South Boston High	0	.7	99.3
Cleveland Jr. High	7.1	1.8	91.2
Gavin Jr. High	1.8	1.8	96.4
Rogers Jr. High	3.3	.4	96.3
Underutilized Schools*			
Boys Trade	66.5	6.9	26.6
English High	66.7	8.5	24.8
Girls Trade	74.9	5.1	20.0
Jeremiah Burke High	89.0	10.1	.9
King Middle School	94.4	5.4	.2
Roxbury High	91.7	5.8	2.5
Timilty Jr. High	95.0	3.1	1.8

*Overcrowded signifies a school with substantially more students in attendance than its capacity as calculated by school officials; underutilized signifies a school having a substantial number of vacant seats.

Tables taken from Judge W. Arthur Garrity Jr., The Boston School Decision Boston: The Community Action Committee of Paperback Booksmith, p. 17.

Court-Ordered Busing in Detroit

The desegregation case which climaxed in the U.S. District Court of Judge Stephen J. Roth in June, 1972 began in the spring of 1970. At that time the Detroit School Board proposed a far-reaching desegregation plan for the city. The state legislature reacted quickly and passed Public Law 48 to nullify the School Board's plan.

In August, 1970 the NAACP filed suit in federal court to overturn Public Law 48. The suit was denied, but in early 1971, the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered Judge Roth to hold a full trial on racial discrimination in the Detroit schools.

Judge Roth had a longstanding reputation for being a conservative and cautious judge. In 1970 he spoke out against the interference of "outsiders" in Detroit's school system. Then, the only outsiders were lawyers for the pro-busing plaintiffs in the court case, the NAACP and black parents. Judge Roth was also opposed to court-ordered busing plans and to any attempt to involve the suburbs in Detroit desegregation.

Evidence presented at the trial, convinced Judge Roth that government action and inaction in Detroit had unconstitutionally denied black students an equal education.

This de jure (by law) segregation took several forms. Judge Roth concluded that federal, state and local governments, along with private institutions, were responsible for the housing segregation which existed in Detroit. Housing segregation, in turn, was partly responsible for school segregation.

The Judge ruled that the Detroit School Board was also guilty. The Board had set up optional attendance zones which enabled white students to escape from schools where the black population was growing. Black students in overcrowded schools were bused past white schools to black schools further away.

In addition, Judge Roth found that the School Board's reorganization of attendance zones, grade structures, and school feeder patterns maintained and increased racial segregation in the schools. In 1960, 66% of Detroit's black students attended schools which were 90% or more black. By the 1970-71 school year, 75% of the black students attended schools which were 90% or more black.

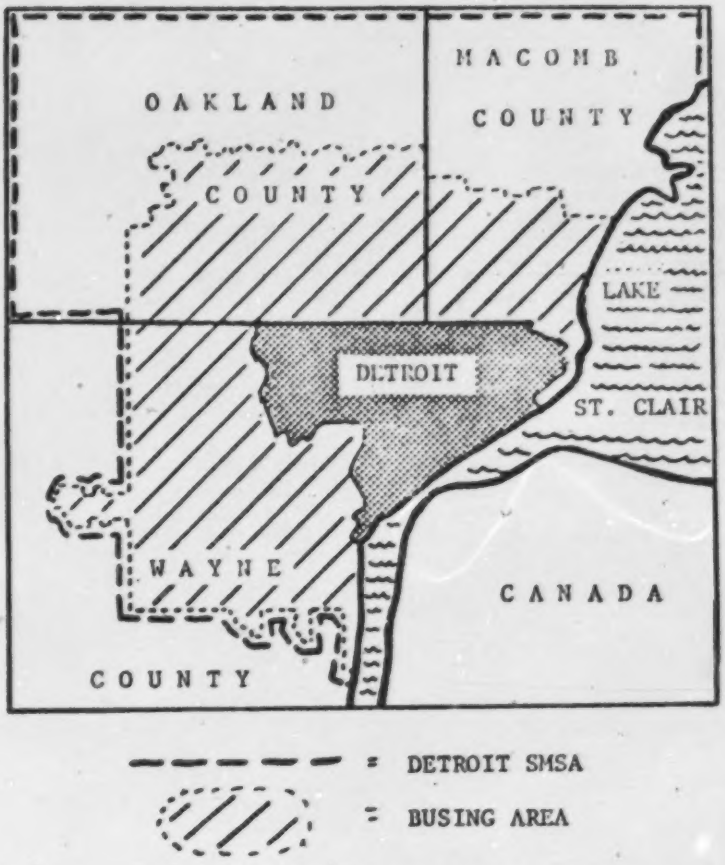
On September 27, 1971 Judge Roth ruled that the Detroit schools were segregated by law. He instructed the Detroit School Board and the State Department of Education to draw up desegregation plans for the city of Detroit and for the whole metropolitan area.

In March 1972 the Judge rejected the "Detroit-only" desegregation plans. Since black students were 65% of the student population, a city desegregation plan would make all the schools mostly black. Judge Roth argued that this would increase the flight of whites from the city, and would lower further the quality of education in the Detroit schools. A second factor in his decision was the lack of school buses in Detroit. School buses were used extensively in the suburbs, but not in the city. It would have been too costly to create an urban school transportation system. The solution was a metropolitan desegregation plan.

Judge Roth studied metropolitan plans submitted by the State Department of Education, the NAACP, and the Citizens Committee for Better Schools. The CCBS is a group of white Detroit parents who favored metropolitan busing for integration. On June 14, 1972 Judge Roth ordered the start of busing in the fall of 1972. His plan, based primarily on the one submitted by the NAACP, affected Detroit and 53 suburban school districts (See the map on page 3). The schools in the busing area were to be divided into 16 clusters. Each cluster contained schools from Detroit and from suburban school districts.

Students would be bused within the cluster to achieve racial balance throughout the metropolitan area.

The plan was to be fully implemented by the fall of 1973. Then approximately 25% of the students in each school would be black. In 1972 the Detroit schools were 65% black, while suburban schools were more than 90% white. The Judge's order set off an explosive controversy, one which had been brewing since 1970.



Bibliographical Note

Direct quotations of participants in the Detroit busing case are from "Busing Debates Rage On -- Out of Court," Detroit Free Press, July 23, 1972, and Helen May, "'Mom Power' Mobilized to Seek Safe, Harmonious School Busing," Detroit Free Press, July 14, 1972. The photograph is used with the permission of the Detroit Free Press.

Other sources include the following:

Bradley v. Milliken, U.S. Court of Appeals, Sixth District, June 12, 1973. (484 F. 2nd 215 (1973)).

Grant, Williams, "Pro-Busing Parents Find Rough Going in Suburbia," Detroit Free Press, June 10, 1973.

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BOSTON AND DETROIT

This part of the data packet, Us and Them, contains information about inequality and competition in the Boston and Detroit busing cases. There are maps, charts and newspaper articles here which will help you to see how inequality and competition affect political conflict.

You should study the material on Boston carefully. The map of the school zones shows feeder patterns, or how students moved from elementary to junior high to high school, prior to busing in Boston. The charts show the types of teachers and administrators hired in black and white schools and the overcrowding problem, prior to busing. The newspaper article outlines busing plans presented by several groups which wanted to express their concern over how busing should be handled.

You should also carefully look at the material on busing in Detroit. You have seen the case, 'Court-ordered Busing in Detroit,' before. You need not read it again unless you find material in it about inequality that is helpful. The newspaper article was put together from a variety of sources to aid in looking at competition of various groups in the Detroit busing case.

Study these materials and discuss them with people in your group. Then answer the questions on the following page.

Questions

1. What basic inequalities are demonstrated in the Boston maps and tables?

2. What are similarities and differences in the competing busing plans in the Boston Globe article?

3. How do inequality and competition contribute to the busing conflict?

4. What are some similarities and differences between the way inequality and competition affect conflict in Boston and in Detroit?

This part of the data packet, 'Us and Them,' contains information about inequality and competition in the Chicago Crosstown Expressway case, the U.S. Equal Rights Amendment case and the OPEC Price of Oil case. There are charts, dialogues and letters contained in the packet which will give you more information about inequality and competition in situations other than the Boston busing conflict.

The material on ERA begins with some information about the inequality of women. This information was attached to Ken's original letter to Margot which you read earlier in the unit. A new set of letters between Margot and Ken will aid you in looking at competition and how groups opposed to NOW and ERA affected the conflict.

There is also new material about the Crosstown Expressway controversy. A chart showing resources required for different expressway plans gives some information about inequality. Some statements from Mayor Daley and Governor Walker illustrate the competition that arose between the two politicians over the issue.

Finally, you should carefully study the OPEC material on the price of oil. The chart shows inequalities in resources which exist among members of OPEC. The quotes from the Shah of Iran and Sheik Yamani show the competition between Iran and Saudi Arabia during the conflict.

Read the material and discuss it with others in your group. Then answer the questions on the following page.

Questions

1. How is the confliction in Chicago similar or different from Boston?

2. How is the conflict over ERA similar or different from Boston?

3. How is the conflict over the price of oil in OPEC similar or different from Boston?

4. Do inequality and competition seem to have similar effects on conflict in all four cases? What are the similar effects? What are the differences in effects?

CROSSTOWN PROS AND CONS

The money problem for Crosstown is a real one. Ordinarily, an expressway is built by Federal, state and local money. State and local governments raise funds that match those provided by the Federal government. For example, if an expressway costs 1 billion dollars, the Federal government will contribute some of the cost only if the state and local agencies will cover other costs. In this case, state and local government must raise $100 million in matching funds. That's a lot of money.

Governor Walker has refused to make a state contribution to the Crosstown Expressway in Chicago. This means that the money must be raised by the city itself. Daley says the city has the money in the motor fuel fund. Others say the money needs to be used for regular upkeep of Chicago streets, bridges, and sidewalks. Senator Stevenson appointed a committee in 1974 to study the problem. The committee recommended a mass rapid transit system as a substitute for the expressway.

Following are some figures on Daley's and the Committee's plans:

Present Situation	Daley's Crosstown Plan	Committee's Rapid Transit Plan
Traffic Overload	Reroute Traffic by Expressway Above Ground	Reroute Traffic By Rapid Transit Above and Below Ground
Motor Fuel Fund	1/2 Motor Fuel Fund for Expressway	Less than 1/2 Motor Fuel Fund for Rapid Transit
Residential Communities and Businesses Intact	Dislocate 10,000 Residents and 100's of Businesses	Cut Dislocation by 79% Keep Communities Intact

DALEY VS. WALKER

Mayor Daley and Governor Walker have been fighting it out over Crosstown. Below is a summary of their positions.

DALEY

Daley says the city has submitted to the Federal government all materials necessary to begin construction of the Crosstown Expressway. They do not need to use state funds. Chicago is prepared to pay all $100 million of the matching funds necessary for the expressway. "The city's financial department and budget director will work out ways," Daley said. (Chicago Tribune, April 25, 1974)

WALKER

Governor Walker has said the expressway will not be built as long as he is governor. He says that Crosstown will not and cannot be built without state support and supervision. He also says that nothing can happen without public hearings on the economic and environmental phases of the plan. "If the hearings reveal that the people don't want the Crosstown, what is the Federal government going to do, try and cram it down their throats!" Governor Walker proposes an alternative plan which would extend rapid transit and modernize present streets. (Chicago Tribune, April 27, 1974)

Inequality of Women -- 1970*

A. Wages

1. In 1968 a man working full-time averaged $7,664 a year while a woman averaged $4,457. The primary reason for the difference in wages was that women worked in lower level jobs more often than men.

2. Women often earned less than men for the same job. For example, a female chemist earned $9,000 compared to the overall average salary for a chemist of $13,500.

3. In 1968, 60% of the women and 20% of the men earned less than $5,000, but 28% of the men and only 3% of the women earned over $10,000.

B. Job Discrimination

1. State laws sometimes restricted the types of jobs women could do. For example, in 1969 women could not clean moving machinery in Minnesota or Michigan nor work as a bellhop in Washington. In California a woman could not lift more than 10 pounds on the job.

2. Women could be fired for being pregnant, and sometimes women were not hired simply because they were of child-bearing age and <u>might</u> become pregnant.

C. Finances

1. Single and divorced women had trouble getting credit or mortgages. Married women usually had to apply for credit in their husband's name. The mayor of Davenport, Iowa, was denied a BankAmericard because <u>her husband</u> hadn't signed the application.

2. When a husband and wife applied for credit, the wife's salary was often not considered, even if it was larger than the husband's.

D. Citizenship

1. Although women are a majority of the population, in 1970 there was only one female U.S. Senator (today there are none) and 10 Representatives. Women often rose to these offices or to state offices because of the deaths of their husbands.

2. Of the 8,750 judges sitting in 1970, only 300 were women.

*I don't have any statistics which show how much of this inequality has been reduced since 1970. Limited progress has been made through individual lawsuits. For example, women often sue for "equal pay for equal work." The principle has been accepted, but many employers still find ways to get around it. Some of the state procective labor laws have been ruled unconstitutional, but this has also been on a piecemeal basis. In addition, some employers have enlightened policies toward maternity leaves, but that is far from universal.

Munich, No. 8, West Germany
Leopoldstrasse 12
Spring, 1975

Dear Ken,

In your last letter you mentioned that four more states needed to ratify the ERA before it becomes law. I was a little surprised because I thought surely it would be ratified by now. I remember reading in the paper in 1972 that supporters of the amendment thought it would be approved by the necessary 38 states within the year. And it's been almost three years! What happened? Why is it taking so long?

Well, the school year is almost over. We really appreciate your help on the ERA. It has made it easier for us to compare the status of women in different parts of the world. I hope you have a good summer vacation.

As ever,

Margot

Margot

513 N. Park Avenue
Marcus, Indiana
USA
Spring, 1975

Dear Margot,

You're right, a lot of people did expect the ERA to be ratified quickly. In fact, before the end of 1972, 22 states had approved it. Seven more ratified it by the end of March, 1973, but only 5 have approved it since then! If four more don't pass it by March of 1979, the actions of Congress and the ERA supporters will have been in vain.

One of the reasons for the slack in momentum has been the organization of opposition to ERA. Some of this opposition is based on legitimate concerns and doubts about the effects of the amendment. One of these concerns is the protective labor legislation I mentioned in my first letter. While supporters of ERA are right that some of this legislation restricts women, some of it has been beneficial. For example, in California laws established a minimum wage for women which was higher than that set by the federal government. Overtime pay and safety regulations were also among the things established by state law. ERA supporters have argued that these measures should be extended to men and that they would be -- after the ratification of ERA. The fears of the opponents, however, were justified in this case. After the state legislature approved ERA, it passed a bill which would have extended the protective labor legislation to men. But California Governor Ronald Reagan vetoed the bill.

Other opponents worry about whether fathers would legally have to support families, whether rape laws would be thrown out, and whether women would be forced into combat. The last has caused considerable concern. Some supporters of ERA argue that women, like men, have a responsibility to serve in the armed forces if they are needed. They point to the small percentage of men that actually do combat duty. Women, they conclude, should have the opportunity to share the responsibilities and the benefits of military service. The recent introduction of an all-volunteer army should take some of the steam out of this argument.

A lot of the most vocal and best financed opposition to ERA is less rational. One such group is Stop ERA. It's headed by Phyllis Schlafly, a conservative from Illinois. There has been extensive debate about whether Stop ERA is backed by the John Birch Society, an extreme right-wing organization. Whether it is or not, Stop ERA and similar groups preach a more inflamatory anti-ERA doctrine than what I described earlier. Their literature warns of shared restrooms, hospital rooms and prison cells. They claim that male policemen will be able to search women suspects and that men and women would have to take army physicals together. The basis for these arguments is pretty flimsy since the courts have established the principle of the "right to privacy." Regardless, these types of arguments do frighten people, so they can be effective in stirring up emotional opposition to ERA.

Maybe the best way for you to understand why and how ERA is defeated in the states is to tell you about events in Utah. I read about the Utah case in a very interesting article in Society.* It shows how both legitimate

*Miller, Margaret I. and Linker, Helen. "Equal Rights Amendment Campaigns in California and Utah," Society, May-June 1974, 40-53.

and fanatical concerns can affect the ratification process. I think it's amazing that the actions of one group of people can affect the future of something as important as the ERA.

The ratification process in Utah was very brief. The amendment was first considered in the fall of 1972, and by the end of January, 1973, it was defeated. The defeat would seem rather surprising since a newspaper poll published in October showed that the majority of legislative candidates supported the ERA. The proponents naturally were not very worried about eventual ratification.

They were mistaken. In December opposition emerged as a group called HOTDOGS (Humanitarians Opposed to the Degredation of Our Girls). Many people, including most legislators, thought that the HOTDOGS were sponsored by the John Birch society which had a well-established organization in Utah, especially in the rural areas.

The HOTDOGS conducted a real Blitskrieg* against the ERA. They produced a flood of letters to legislators, the news media and community leaders, and they showed up in force at public hearings.

The supporters of ERA, who included NOW, the Utah Business and Professional Women, Common Cause and the League of Women Voters, were caught off guard. They had planned to lead a low-keyed campaign, one which would carefully explain the arguments in favor of the ERA and counter the opposition's arguments, one by one. They did not want to appear to be fanatical "women's libbers," since that would cost them votes in Utah, a basically conservative state.

*A lightening fast war.

In fact, the distinctive characteristics of the state of Utah had an important impact on the defeat of the ERA, since it shaped the HOTDOGS strategy. For one thing, the HOTDOGS did not emphasize the ERA's threat to protective labor laws because, unlike California, Utah was not a very industrialized state. Unions which had led the anti-ERA fight in California were not a factor in Utah.

What was crucial for the ERA's chances in Utah was its supposed threat to traditional American family life. This issue was especially important there because of the Mormon Church (the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints).

The Mormon Church never took an official position on the ERA although a church-owned newspaper in Salt Lake City, the Deseret News, did oppose it. The major impact of the Church was its beliefs and traditions. It considers the father-dominated family as the cornerstone of society, and it believes that a woman's proper role in that society is one of wife and mother.

The HOTDOGS arguments catered to this strong belief in the family. Here is an example of what they said. In a series of newspaper articles, the HOTDOGS claimed that the ERA would (1) "inhibit childbearing and would cause youngsters to be put in 'day-care centers'," (2) wipe out a woman's freedom of choice to take a paying job or to be a fulltime wife and mother supported by her husband," (3) "make every wife in the U.S. legally responsible to provide 50 percent of the financial support of her family," and (4) "abolish a woman's right to child support and alimony." I imagine you can see why many Mormons would be alarmed by these charges.

So the ERA was defeated in Utah. Groups like the HOTDOGS and Stop ERA are active in other states which haven't approved the amendment yet. While the Mormon Church isn't dominant in any of them, there is usually some local issue or tradition which the anti-ERA groups can use. As I'm writing this, Illinois and Missouri are considering the amendment. If they don't approve it, its chances will look pretty bleak.

I enjoyed telling you about the ERA and the struggle for its ratification. I've learned a lot looking up things for you. Have a good summer and write again soon.

Take care,

Ken

Ken

OPEC's OIL RESOURCES

Within OPEC there are significant differences in the resources countries have. If oil is equated with political clout, then these differences will be part of the politics of any decision made by OPEC. What effect do you think the inequalities in resources shown in the following table have on the oil price controversy?

OIL PRODUCERS[3]

	Saudi Arabia	Kuwait	Iran	Iraq	U.A.E.[1]	Libya	Nigeria	All OPEC[2]
Proven oil reserves (billion barrels)	165	73	66	35	34	27	21	478
Oil production 1974 (million barrels/day)	8	3	6	2	2	2	2	31
Population (millions)	7.7	0.7	28.7	9.4	0.3	1.9	66.2	260.7
GNP per capita (1974$)	2.9	8.5	940	930	21,000	5,800	230	550
Oil revenues (1974 $ bn)	20	7	17	7	4	8	7	90

[1] United Arab Emirates

[2] Including Algeria, Ecuador, Sudan, Indonesia, Qatar, and Venezuela

[3] Table taken from The Economist, April 26, 1975, p. 37

THE PRICE OF OIL: OPPOSING VIEWS

IRAN: PRICES UP!

The Shah of Iran

"I tell you, the price of oil must rise. There's no other solution. However, it's a solution you of the West have wished on yourselves. Or, if you prefer, a solution wished on you by your ultra-civilized industrial society. You've increased the price of wheat you sell us by 300 percent, and the same for sugar and cement. You've sent petrochemical prices rocketing. You buy our crude oil and sell it back to us, refined as petrochemicals, at a hundred times the price you've paid us. You make us pay more, scandalously more, for everything, and it's only fair that, from now on, you should pay more for oil. Let's say ... 10 times more."

New Republic, December 1, 1973, p. 21

SAUDI ARABIA: PRICES DOWN!

Sheik Ahmed Zaki al-Yamani, Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources

"We can get any price we want. There were proposals at Tehran that we raise the posted price to $23 a barrel. If we made it that high, we'd earn $100-billion in a year. The world would soon run out of Eurodollars ..." ... Yamani clashed in Tehran with the Shah of Iran, who announced the present posted price of $11.65 a barrel before Yamani had acquiesced ... Yamani went to Tehran with strict instructions from his King to keep prices down; Iran and other petroleum producers overruled him."

New York Times Magazine,
March 24, 1974, pp. 13-14

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